

HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY



The Historical Society of Southern California welcomes Donna Schuele as Associate Editor of the *Southern California Quarterly*. Donna received her B.A. from Case Western Reserve University; her J.D. and Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, Boalt Hall School of Law. Her doctoral dissertation focused on "Culture, Gender, and Marital Property in California Law and Politics, 1850-1890." Donna has received a number of fellowships and has presented papers and published articles on the subject of women in California law and government. She currently lectures in the History Department, University of California, Los Angeles, and in the Political Science Department, University of Southern California, in addition to serving as Executive Director of the California Supreme Court Historical Society.

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SPRING 2004

The Historical Society of Southern California is pleased to announce that the publication of the Spring 2004 issue of the *Southern California Quarterly* is supported by an endowment generously established by friends of Doyce B. Nunis Jr. in recognition of his more than forty years of distinguished service to the historical community as editor of the *Quarterly*.



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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was founded November 1, 1883, and incorporated February 13, 1891. It has enjoyed an unbroken record of continuous activity and growth. Commencing in 1884, and each year through 1934, the Society issued an *Annual Publication*. In 1935 the *Quarterly* was initiated. The Society's publications through 1976 have been described in a concise abstract of articles and separately indexed by Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager (comps.), *A Bibliography* (1958), *The Topical Index* (1959), and *Cumulative Index* (1977). A complete list of past Society publications and prices is available on request from the Executive Director. Membership classifications, which include subscription to the *Quarterly* are:

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Authors whose articles are accepted for publication receive twenty-five reprints without cost. Authors are offered the opportunity to order additional copies at rates quoted by the printer.

In matters of style, the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* (15th ed.) is considered definitive. While articles in any form or style will be considered for publication, the Editorial Board reserves the right to return accepted manuscripts for the required changes. It is requested that manuscripts submitted for consideration include a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Manuscript contributions and books for review (submitted at the owner's risk), as well as other editorial matter, should be addressed to the *Quarterly's* editor: Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., HSSC, 200 East Avenue 43, Los Angeles, CA 90031-1304.

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ON THE COVER: Façade of Mission San Carlos Borromeo Basilica, August 2002. *Photo courtesy Bruna Rita Cidello. Designed by Hortensia Chu.*

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LOS ANGELES SATURDAY NIGHT AND SAM T. CLOVER: Author, Editor, and Bibliophile

by Jane Apostol

It can be instructive—and often entertaining—to read about Los Angeles and Angelenos (“right-living, right-thinking” Angelenos) in the illustrated weekly, *Los Angeles Saturday Night*. Veteran journalist Samuel Travers Clover, who edited the paper from 1920 until his death in 1934, assured subscribers that he would print nothing sensational or objectionable and would adhere to a policy of clean advertisements and wholesome progressiveness. Even the grammar was beyond reproach, free of what Clover termed “verbal gaucheries.”

One reader did protest “the silly manner of reporting society affairs.” There was, indeed, much emphasis on social happenings (as in the feature “Doings Over the Teacups”), but there also were reports on churches, schools, music, art, and drama (“Spoken and Silent”); as well as accounts of golfing and equestrian activities, reports on business and financial affairs, and a political report from Washington. For the bibliophile there were book reviews, poems, occasional short stories, and even a serial or two, such as a reprinting of Major Horace Bell’s *Reminiscences of a Ranger*. A bibliophile himself, Clover shared his passion for books in a regular feature, “Browsings in an Old Book Shop.”

London-born Sam Clover came to the United States with his parents in 1869, when he was ten years old. He began his newspaper career at the age of eighteen as editor of a publication (“an amateur sheet a trifle larger than a

postage stamp”) for the Chicago Board of Trade.¹ Promised a job on the *Chicago Times* if he first gained some worldly experience, Clover set out in 1880, fifty dollars in his pocket, and traveled 40,000 miles in sixteen months. With luck and pluck he made his way to the South Pacific and back, earning money en route as a sailor, a bookmaker’s clerk, a circus roustabout, and a circus performer. He wrote two books about his experiences: *Leaves from a Diary: A Tramp Around the World*, and a fictionalized account with a title that gives the plot away: *Paul Travers’ Adventures: Being a Faithful Account of a Boy’s Journey Around the World, Showing His Mishaps, Privations and Ofttimes Thrilling Experiences and How He Won His Reporter’s Star*. Charles Fletcher Lummis praised the book as a story “that the average American boy will devour with quickening pulse.”²

On his return to Chicago (with ten dollars more than he had in the beginning), Clover won a reporter’s job on the *Times*. He worked for other Chicago papers as well, and for five years tried his luck in Dakota Territory. He was editor and publisher of the Sioux Falls *Leader* and coeditor of a humorous newspaper, the *Dakota Bell*, which had “a brief but merry existence.” When that paper failed, Clover and his partner gave as an explanation: “Sioux Falls was too small for such geniuses, and its editors were soon called into a larger field.”³ In 1884 Clover married a fellow journalist, Mabel (Madge) Hitt of Oregon, Illinois. Their marriage lasted fifty years.

While in Dakota Territory, Clover “perpetrated” (his word) a small book of verse, *Zephyrs from Dakota*, said to be the second book of poetry published in South Dakota. In another claim to fame, he took credit for improving the wording of the South Dakota state motto. Delegates to the first Statehood Convention had proposed “By God the People Rule.” Clover suggested “Under God the People Rule” and gleefully pointed out, “The serious-minded farmers who served on the committee did not realize how profane was the motto they selected.”⁴

From 1889 to 1893, as staff correspondent for the *Chicago Herald*, Clover covered the Cheyenne troubles in Montana, the Ghost Dance excitement in South Dakota, and the Johnson County War in Wyoming. The so-called war was the vigilante action of large-scale cattle companies against small ranchers accused of being cattle thieves. The vigilantes had a list of seventy Johnson County ranchers targeted for death, and they killed two of the men. Outraged citizens formed a posse and besieged the vigilantes, who had to be rescued by the U.S. Cavalry.

SAMUEL TRAVERS CLOVER.
Courtesy Herald Examiner Collection/
Los Angeles Public Library.



Clover, who had talked his way into riding with the vigilantes as a correspondent, filed “one of the great eyewitness reports of the century”—a dramatic story made more dramatic by a measure of hyperbole and some embroidery of the facts. “For gall, guts, and reporting know-how—and for scurrility, bias, and shameless distortion—the *Herald* correspondent rates a special two-headed medal of his own,” Helena Huntington Smith wrote in her definitive account, *The War on Powder River*.⁵ Clover gave his own version of the affair in his book *On Special Assignment: Being the Further Adventures of Paul Travers, Showing How He Succeeded as a Newspaper Reporter*.

In 1894 Clover was named managing editor of the *Chicago Evening Post*, a position he held for six years. In 1900 he celebrated the publication of his fifth book, *Glimpses Across the Sea*, a collection of travel sketches that originally appeared in the *Post*. The year 1900 also marked his move from the Midwest to California. He worked briefly as a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, and in 1902 became editor of the *Evening Express*, whose owner was feuding with the *Times* owner, Harrison Gray Otis, over the city printing contract. Clover’s editorials attacking Otis were described in *The Graphic* “as a large

sized and particularly prickly thorn in the anatomy of the editor of the *Times*. . . . But of more importance than his belligerency is the fact that he has made the *Express* a reliable, interesting and well edited paper.”⁶

In 1905 Clover established his own paper, the *Los Angeles Evening News*, which vigorously opposed bonds for the Owens Valley–Los Angeles Aqueduct.⁷ Clover’s unpopular stand cost him advertisers and subscribers. “This lonely journalist,” wrote Carey McWilliams, “paid for his honesty by forfeiting control of his little weekly newspaper.”⁸ Los Angeles bibliophile Olive Percival noted in her diary that she felt bereft at the end of the *Evening News* and Clover’s editorial column, which she described as fair-minded and seasoned with true wit. “It reflected proper civic pride without the complacency and self-conceit that retard,” she wrote; “it scored in forceful, admirable English the hypocrisy of ‘The Times’ and other local ruffians and grafters.”⁹

In a more successful venture in Los Angeles, Clover purchased a controlling interest in *The Graphic*, which he edited from 1908 until 1916. He took over in September with an extravagant promise:

The Graphic will strive to offer a weekly collation of choice reading that shall cheer the depressed, attract the dilettanti, tickle the fancies of the imaginative, prove a delight to those of a literary bent, afford satisfaction to the pugnacious, convey peace to the unrest of spirit, strike a responsive chord in the breasts of the sober-minded, uncover a mine of Attic salt to those fair-minded and clean-minded everywhere and so win the respect of all.

(Not content with this challenge, Clover added a second newspaper to his holdings. In 1912 he bought the *Pasadena Daily News*, but making it pay “was too great a burden for even Sam Clover’s genius.”)¹⁰

Clover sold *The Graphic* in 1916, bought the *Evening Journal* of Richmond, Virginia, and edited it until 1920, when he returned to Los Angeles. That same year he arranged for publication of *A Stop at Suzanne’s and Lower Flights*, sketches and letters written by his younger son Greayer, a pilot in the American Aviator Corps, who was killed in France in 1918. Clover Field, in Santa Monica, was named in honor of Greayer, as was a local American Legion Post.

In 1920 Clover became the editor of *Los Angeles Saturday Night*, which he purchased two years later. As the new owner, he changed from newspaper format to tabloid size. The advantage of the smaller size, Clover explained, was that readers now could keep their papers in a neat pile for ready reference. “The editorial page,” he promised “will reflect a sane outlook on life and will

be as lucid, vigorous and untrammelled as ever."¹¹ He promised, also, that readers would find something vital and compelling in every issue.

Front-page illustrations boosted a Chamber of Commerce image of southern California: its scenic views, cultural assets, sporting events, "gentlemen's estates," and handsome new commercial buildings. For a time, portraits of leading citizens also appeared on the front page. These "California Men of Notable Constructive Ability" included Henry E. Huntington, George Ellery Hale, William A. Clark, Jr., and John Randolph Haynes, as well as two men whose views he once opposed: Harry Chandler and William Mulholland. Clover later published the portraits and biographical sketches in a book, *Constructive Californians: Men of Outstanding Ability Who Have Added Greatly to the Golden State's Prestige*.

Only once (March 25, 1922) did front-page photographs offer a critical view of Los Angeles. Contrasting with a photograph of an unspoiled Arroyo Seco, "a bit of natural paradise," were two bleak scenes. One depicted "work of the ruthless rock crusher in the Arroyo Seco, and the disastrous results it has achieved." The other picture was captioned "Transforming a sylvan retreat into an industrial district under the pretext of straightening the river bed—Slaughter of the Sycamores."

Clover touted *Saturday Night* as an ideal medium "to reach the well-to-do people of Los Angeles and environs." Among those advertising were bankers, realtors, resort hotels, private schools, importers, and rare book shops. Department stores highlighted the new fashions for women: motor hats for the bobbed and unbobbed, knicker suits, bathing frocks, dance turbans, and jaunty walking sticks. Mah-jongg was promoted as the latest craze, "almost as catching as the flu." An advertisement in 1922 predicted, "It is inevitable that you will buy a Victrola." Another ad proclaimed, "Radio is here to stay!" Clover responded with a prescient observation: "With 30,000 radio outfits installed in Southern California, what a medium for political missionaries to employ!"¹²

In 1924 Clover acquired the venerable San Francisco weekly, *The Argonaut*, and combined it with *Saturday Night*, publishing simultaneously in both cities under the title of *The Argonaut*. "It is the first time in the history of California that a weekly paper has attained a circulation reaching up and down the state," Clover boasted on July 12, 1924. Nine months later he was forced to admit that San Francisco did not take kindly to the merger. The St. Francis Hotel, for example, dropped its advertising with the blunt statement that

"it had no use for anything that emanated from Los Angeles."¹³ Editorial control of the original *Argonaut* returned to San Francisco on April 4, 1925. The publishers promised to "restore the policies of the old *Argonaut*, preserve its traditions, and go back to the old ways." Editorial direction of *Saturday Night* continued as before. There was a change, however, in the appearance of the paper, with attractive vignettes now used as head pieces for the various departments. There was a further change in 1927, when artist Albert Isherwood designed a dramatic new look for the front page. Decorative borders enhanced the left, right, and bottom margins, while the top margin, with the name of the paper, was a visual pun on *Saturday Night*—a black band, with a nearly invisible suggestion of stars.

Although women were never featured as "Constructive Californians," they were not ignored. Buildings associated with women were duly photographed for the front page: the new YWCA building in 1922, the new home of the Friday Morning Club in 1924, and the 1926 grand opening of the Hotel Figueroa, financed and operated solely by women. When the 19th Amendment was duly ratified in 1920, Clover wrote an editorial proclaiming, "Woman IS a human being, politically." He urged women to vote and endorsed their right to run for office. One editorial asked, "Why not a woman Senator?" An editorial in 1931 chided the legislature for proposing that no married woman should take the civil service exam or be employed in a city, county, or state position unless her husband was disabled or earning no more than \$150 a month. Despite his feminist sympathies, however, Clover opposed women serving on juries that might hear embarrassing testimony in cases involving assaults on women or in sordid divorce suits.

Saturday Night published a number of women authors. (Clover deplored the words "authoress" and "poetess." Why not, he asked, say doctress, lawyeress, composeress, printeress, and so on?) Two women who helped broaden the scope of the paper were Madge Clover and Turbesé Lummis Fiske. Among Madge Clover's contributions were two introductory articles on "Our Step-Child the Indian," a series to which John Collier, a future Commissioner of Indian Affairs, also contributed. Of major significance were Madge Clover's reports from China and Japan made during a six-month trip to the Orient in 1926 and 1927. Shortly after her return to Los Angeles, she was named associate editor of *Saturday Night*, and in 1932 she became art editor as well, succeeding Prudence Woollett, who had written about art and artists since 1928.

Between 1922 and 1924 Turbesé Lummis Fiske wrote sympathetic arti-

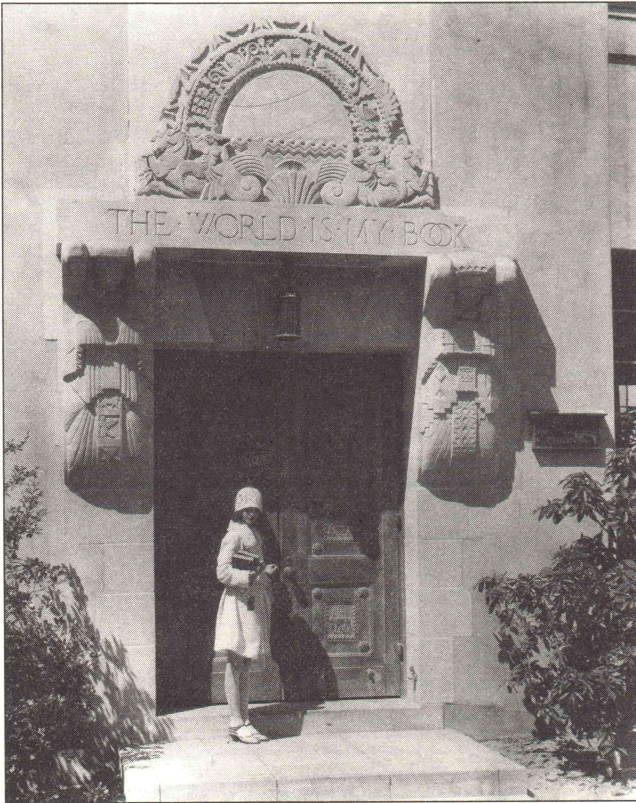
cles and stories about Mexican communities in Los Angeles: their family life and fiestas; Spanish-language bookstores, newspapers, and theaters; shops such as the *tortilleria* El Molino de Nixtamal; and the work of the Plaza Community Center. Like her father, Charles Fletcher Lummis, she deplored the passing of the old Spanish-California folk songs. Keeping them alive, she said, was as important as preserving the missions.

Two other women writing for *Saturday Night* were Susannah Bixby Bryant and Neeta Marquis. Susannah Bryant, born into a pioneering southern California family, contributed articles on early California history. Neeta Marquis wrote articles on such diverse subjects as bookplates, literary Californians, ethnic communities in Los Angeles, and a production of *Prometheus Bound* in the ancient theater at Delphi. One of her first articles for *Saturday Night* discussed a "Spanish Renaissance" in Los Angeles: fashionable Spanish shawls, restoration of the Spanish missions, and the giving of Spanish names to new bridges. In 1928 Neeta Marquis opened her "Studio of Creative Writing," and in 1930 she became president of the Los Angeles chapter of the League of Western Writers.

Saturday Night published an annual book number, but it did not neglect books during the rest of the year, featuring them in articles, anecdotes, and advertisements. One amusing item described an ingenious device: the Copper-Whopper Slot Machine. For a penny the customer could retrieve a tiny sixteen-page booklet of short stories by H. G. Wells, Mark Twain, Zola, or de Maupassant. Unfortunately, which author the penny bought was a matter of chance.

The most eye-catching book advertisements were for the J. W. Robinson Rare Book Department. In 1926 the store commissioned artist Ben Kutcher to design twelve decorative borders around drawings that suggested early literary works. One drawing portrayed William Caxton presenting Margaret of Burgundy with the first book printed in English. The picture reminds us, said the text, that only a few centuries ago printing and binding were new arts, and books were rare treasures.

For book lovers the most important event of 1926 was the opening of a magnificent central library on West Fifth Street in downtown Los Angeles. *Saturday Night* devoted much attention to the library with editorials, articles, and photographs, and with excerpts from Librarian Everett Perry's annual reports. *Saturday Night* also featured lists of books recommended by the library. Titles were grouped under such enticing headings as "Traveling with



Entrance to the children's wing of the central library. *Los Angeles Saturday Night* reproduced the photograph on an issue celebrating opening of the library in July 1926. *Courtesy Pacific Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.*

Novelists," "Plays Worth Reading," "Riches in Children's Books," "Essays on This and That," and "A Balanced Book Ration."

Between 1927 and 1933 Carey McWilliams wrote more than fifty book reviews or literary essays for the paper. He praised Mary Austin's versatile talent, Gertrude Atherton's sweep of inspiration, and Jake Zeitlin's striving "for the lost radiance of American speech and song." He considered Louis Adamic "one of the most promising and talented young writers in the West today;" suggested that Idwal Jones was "entirely too talented and clever;" and described Upton Sinclair as "a gadfly for the bourgeois, but a God to the proletariat," as well as a man with the soul of a poet. Charles Erskine Scott Wood, he said, was "a gadfly for the smug, the complacent, and the orthodox, on the Pacific Coast, and the amazing part of it all is that he is prosperous, good natured, and extremely amusing."¹⁴

Sam Clover reviewed many of the new books. He also shared his passion for “the odd, curious, and rare in literature, old and scarce tomes, out-of-print books and the like” in a regular column, “Browsings in an Old Book Shop,” which joyfully described the treasures he found in the famous book shop founded in 1905 by Ernest Dawson. A welcoming sign at Dawson’s invited book lovers to “come in and browse.” Clover took advantage of the invitation and always gave enthusiastic reports of the prize books he discovered. One early acquisition was a first edition of William Hone’s treatise on British miracle and mystery plays. “I went out of the Old Book Shop,” Clover happily announced, “hugging the precious volume to my heart and wore a beatific smile for the remainder of the day. . . . O, but this new find is a rare treasure.”¹⁵

After fourteen years on South Hill (and a previous three years on South Broadway), Dawson’s moved in 1922 to South Grand Avenue. The move inspired a lively advertisement in *Saturday Night*.

CAFETERIA STYLE

HERE IS A BOOKSHOP where you can see what is to be had before you make your selection.

Books marked in plain figures—one low, net price—and Books to fit every purse.

Here you may examine at leisure any book in stock without obligation to purchase.

We have special reading desks provided for the purpose.

You will find welcome in the new store.¹⁶

Clover reveled in his purchase at the Old Book Shop of such diverse volumes as Tom Hood’s *Comic Annual for 1835*; *Don Quixote* in four “tiny, exquisite volumes;” *Hermippus Redivivus, or the Sage’s Triumph Over Old Age and the Grave*; and *The Wonderful Magazine and Extraordinary Museum: Being a Complete Repository of the Wonders, Curiosities, and Rarities of Nature and Art*. “Heigh-ho! There is a charm and an allurements in this bygone stuff,” he wrote, “that the modern writers all too seldom impart.”¹⁷

Clover took special pleasure in history, biography, and drama, and he rather flaunted his appreciation of the salacious Restoration dramatists. Upon buying William Wycherly’s *The Country Wife* and William Congreve’s *Love for Love*—both 1736 editions—he admitted, “It’s six of one and half a dozen of the other which is most licentious of language in the writing of comedies.”¹⁸

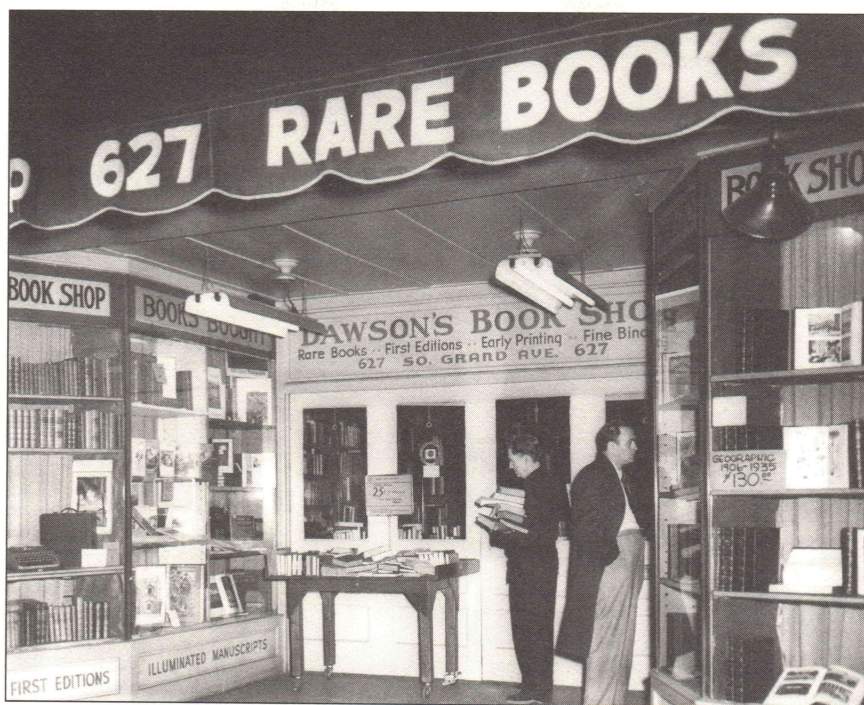
Clover also purchased (and called it one of his treasures) four volumes by Aphra Behn and conceded, "No more flagrant departure from the decencies is apparent in the works of any of the long list of English dramatists who flourished before or after her time."¹⁹ He was less tolerant of modern authors and denounced *A Farewell to Arms* as "A Farewell to Decency." (A few weeks later, *Saturday Night's* book review editor, Wilbur Needham, admitted that he would not care to have Hemingway's book on his shelf, but he defended the work as in many ways distinguished. "No coercion has been brought upon this reviewer," he insisted, "for the editor of this paper is a tolerant man who has never blue-penciled an opinion of any member of his staff.")²⁰

Clover delighted in poetry—if the poetry had both rhyme and rhythm. "Free verse," he declared, "is seldom poetry and I question if the effort to express oneself in that vein is worth the while."²¹ He grudgingly admitted that the poems of Robinson Jeffers, although unrhymed, had "a dramatic strength together with aggressive force, that, in a measure, atones for the want of rhythmic qualities." He concluded, however, after quoting a few lines from Jeffers, "Poetry should be singable to be eternal; this is headachy stuff."²²

Writers of "singable" poetry often had their verses printed in *Saturday Night*. The column "Poems by California Singers" featured previously unpublished work by local writers, while "Cream of the Current Poetry" reprinted poems from other journals. Clover's own poetry also appeared in *Saturday Night*, sometimes introducing his anecdotal column "By the Way." In 1931 his verses moved on to the editorial page. Under the headline "Lights and Shadows" he published satiric verses on people and events in the news.

In 1928 the *Saturday Night* Publishing Company issued a book of Clover's poetry, *The Mounted Muse, and Other Cadences*. The first phrase in the title was inspired by the pleasure Clover took in horseback riding and composing verses as he rode along—a habit dating back to his days in Dakota Territory. Two southern California poets often featured in *Saturday Night* were Charles Granger Blanden and Ernest McGaffey. In 1931 the *Saturday Night* Company published a book by McGaffey (*Ballades and Idyls*) and one by Blanden (*Lincoln, and Other Poems*). Clover praised both men for impeccable technique.

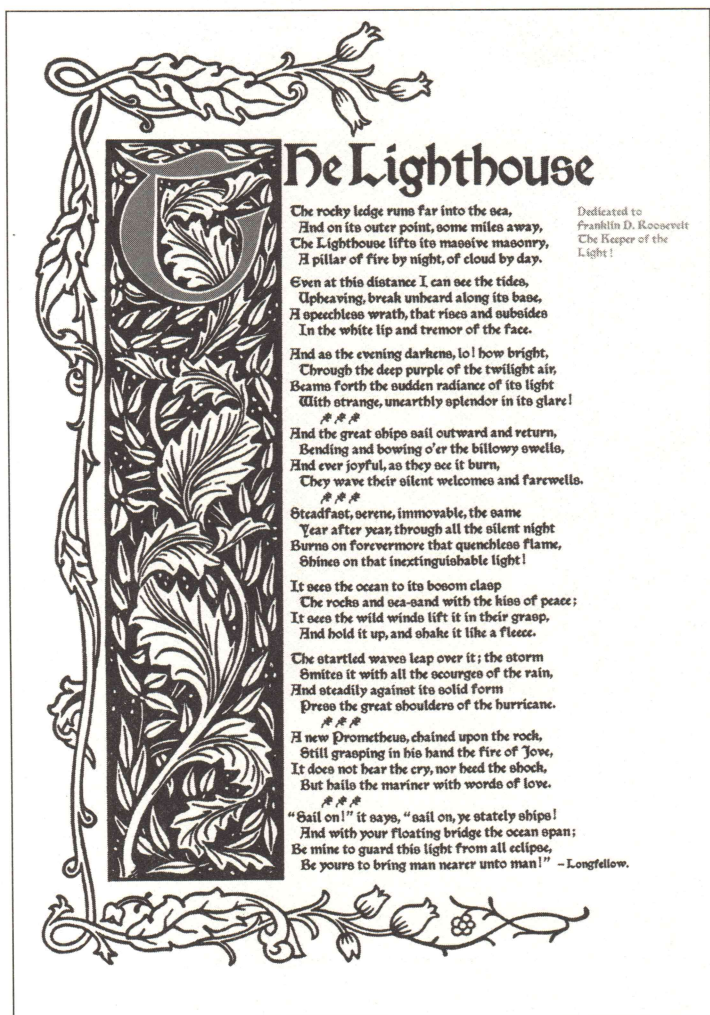
Both Clover and McGaffey had belonged to Chicago's Rhymsters Club. Clover had been a member, also, of The Little Room, an informal group of Chicago writers, artists, and musicians who would meet in various studios. In Los Angeles, Clover joined the Scribes, a discussion group limited to twenty-



The all-night bargain table at Dawson's Book Shop, 627 South Grand Avenue.
 Courtesy Shades of L.A. Archives/Los Angeles Public Library.

seven members, and the Sunset Club, organized “to bring together once a month thirty or forty active, intelligent men of Los Angeles interested in other things besides money-getting, and who read something more than the daily newspaper, to discuss subjects of general human interest.”²³ (Dress suits were forbidden.) Clover also belonged to the Resurrection Club, organized “to resuscitate the good literature of the dead past.”²⁴ Members met once a month to listen to a reading of poetry or prose at least fifty years old.

A great admirer of fine printing, Clover often referred to John Henry Nash, San Francisco master typographer. In 1924 Nash printed for Ernest Dawson “an artistic quarto,” *Migratory Books: Their Haunts & Habits*, by W. Irving Way. After listing some of the famous presses and binders whose work was represented at the Old Book Shop, Way confidently declared, “Los Angeles is now a fruitful field for the wily hunter of what is rare and choice in bibliomania.”²⁵ In 1925 Nash printed for Dawson a magnificent folio leaf, Ina Coolbrith’s poem, *Retrospect: In Los Angeles*. Clover was gratified to receive a



Broadside printed by John Henry Nash, whose typography Clover greatly admired. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

copy as a gift from Mr. Dawson. From Nash himself, Clover received an elegant copy of Longfellow's poem, "The Lighthouse," which Nash had dedicated to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "Keeper of the Light!" Another Nash item described by Clover was "an exquisite announcement" of a William Morris exhibit in Pasadena at La Miniatura, "the shrine of good books, in which Mrs. George Millard is the tutelary saint."²⁶

For years Clover received, as a holiday greeting from William Andrews Clark, Jr., a facsimile of some rare item in Clark's private library. Nash printed

the facsimile, as well as a modern presentation of the same item. As a great admirer of Nash's work, Clover was offended by a criticism of Nash made by Carl Purlington Rollins of the Yale University Press. "I suppose, in general," Rollins said, "that my objection to California printing is the same as my feeling about California fruit, California climate, and California women. They're extremely fair to look at, but when you bite into them, they have no tang." Clover responded with an indignant editorial defending the climate, fruit, and women of California. "'No tang' indeed to our California women! Why, the golden apple, offered by Paris to Venus, was as a dried gourd by comparison."²⁷

Clover began printing Christian Science lectures in the paper in 1929, and he continued printing them twice monthly until 1934. He reported receiving hundreds of appreciative letters and telephone calls. "It is a matter of self-gratulation," he wrote, "that stress is laid on the high-class nature of *Saturday Night*, its ethical tone throughout, in the various departments of critical comment and pictorial effects."²⁸

In 1931 Clover adopted a modernistic design for the cover page of *Saturday Night* and for the column vignettes. He also celebrated a move to larger quarters, with space and equipment for publishing *Saturday Night*, as well as new books ("with artistry and good style"). One special publication in 1931 was a pictorial supplement celebrating the 150th birthday of Los Angeles City and looking forward to the 1932 Olympics, to be hosted by Los Angeles. Despite the enthusiastic boosterism of the supplement, Clover declared, "It visualizes the facts as they are and is nowise burdened with floriate announcements."²⁹

Clover added two serial features to *Saturday Night* in 1931. "Pioneer Families of Los Angeles," by Jean B. Kettle, included such famous names as Olvera, Temple, Widney, Wolfskill, and Workman. The other feature, "Fifty Famous Foreign Recipes," was followed by another fifty, then published as a book in 1933. Marion Stewart, who had gathered the recipes, was the American wife of a European consular official. Writing from personal knowledge, she revealed that the secret of many European dishes is the sauce, and the secret ingredient of the sauce is wine. She assured her readers that the May Company and Young's Market sold wine designed for cooking, not for drinking, and could be used by the strictest observer of the Volstead Act. Marion Stewart had concerns other than culinary. During a childhood in Russia she learned about suffering and starvation when harvests failed. In 1933 she saw the suffering caused by the Great Depression and wrote six deeply felt arti-

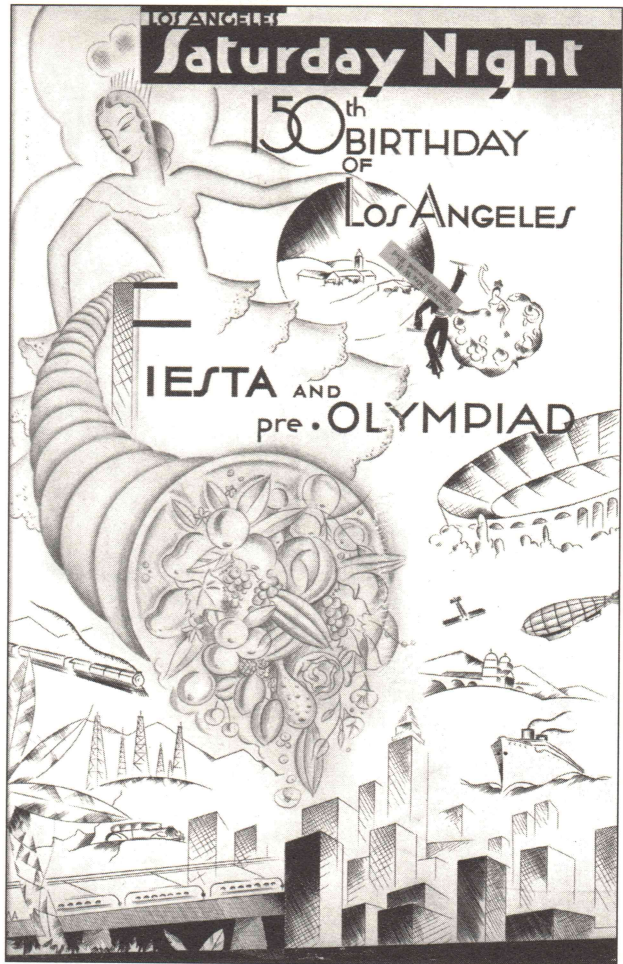
cles for *Saturday Night*. In "Our Brothers' Keepers" she discussed the work being done by charitable organizations to aid and comfort the underprivileged, sick, aged, and needy. "We believe," she wrote, "that social work and planning are not the business of social workers alone, but of all who have the welfare of humanity at heart. We further believe that humanitarian service can be vastly bettered by an enlightened public opinion."³⁰

In 1932 Clover published *A Pioneer Heritage*, a biography of his friend G. Allan Hancock, with introductory chapters on his father, Henry Hancock; his maternal grandfather, Agoston Haraszthy, and the Hancock family's Rancho La Brea, which became famous for its oil deposits and fossil beds. The fossil beds are on twenty-three acres donated to Los Angeles County by Alan Hancock for development as a scientific monument. Much of the book is devoted to Hancock's commercial ventures and scientific expeditions, including one to the Galápagos. Just before the biography went to press, Clover joined Hancock on his supercruiser *Velero III* for a vacation trip to La Paz. The voyage inspired Clover to add an appendix to the book: his rhyming log that describes incidents of the cruise.

Clover had such strong convictions about the 1932 presidential election that he used the front page of *Saturday Night* on November 5 as a campaign statement. Above a portrait of Herbert Hoover was the heading: "Re-Elect President Hoover and Spare Our Country from Control by Hearst, Tammany, Al Smith, Raskob, Shouse, Cermak and Their Kind." Clover discounted Franklin D. Roosevelt as the choice of the discontented and unthinking.

Clover's final book, published in 1933, was *King Hal's Fifth Wife*, dedicated to "vindication of the memory of the much-maligned Katharine Howard." The story was inspired by a journal kept by Marie Pevensey, the great-granddaughter of Queen Katharine's younger sister. In 1649 Marie Pevensey and her husband, Anthony Culpeper, left Europe to settle in Jamestown, Virginia. The manuscript stayed in the Culpeper family until bequeathed to Clover by an old Virginia friend, Colonel Tom Culpeper. In a review of the book ("Stirring Romance by Local Author"), the *Los Angeles Times* remarked:

Mr. Clover, a fine newspaperman of the old days in Virginia, Chicago, the West, and Los Angeles, is now publisher of a weekly paper of trenchant critical opinion, *Los Angeles Saturday Night*, which has long flourished with astonishing vigor. How he found time for research and writing we do not profess to know, for he writes almost the entire issue of the paper, edits every page of the remainder, reads all the proof, and is restrained with difficulty from setting up the type. In between he tosses off a good book like "King Hal's Fifth Wife."³¹



Cover of pictorial supplement published
by *Los Angeles Saturday Night* in 1931.
Courtesy Huntington Library.

Madge and Sam Clover, who had spent fifty years together, died in 1934 less than two months apart. Madge Clover, who died on April 12, had just returned from a trip to the East Coast to report on public and private art collections. She disliked the word “critic,” Clover wrote in a tribute to his wife. If she found no art or beauty in a piece, she would praise the artist’s intention rather than damn the execution. In addition to her art column, she contributed articles, poems, and book reviews to the paper, and occasionally served as foreign correspondent, sending reports from the Orient, from a goodwill trip to Mexico, and from a pilgrimage to Europe with other Gold Star Mothers. Clover described Madge (“comrade, wife, and friend”) as a woman of fine understandings and great sympathies.



Sam Clover's bookplate, with an obvious motif.
Courtesy Huntington Library.

Sam Clover died at his desk on May 28, 1934. "The major qualities of Sam Clover's character were courage and tenderness," his closest friend, Ernest McGaffey, wrote in an editorial. "I doubt if a happier man ever lived. He had a sense of humor as keen as a Damascus blade, but he was a relentless foe of cruelty, oppression, and wrong."³² He fondly remembered Clover's boyishness and the intensity with which he enjoyed his friends, his work, poetry, music, and outdoor life. Said an acquaintance from Sioux Falls: "Mr. Clover called himself the four-leafed clover, and always seemed happy in that thought. He was quite a literary gentleman, almost a genius, a good writer in prose and poetry, and a good speaker. He was the personification of impractical romance."³³

On September 15, 1934, an editorial announced:

With this issue *Los Angeles Saturday Night* enters upon what the publishers have planned shall be a new era of service to Los Angeles and Southern California. . . . The late editor, Mr. Clover, burned with a fierce desire to foster and to exalt the arts and crafts that are the warp and woof of culture. . . . Guided by his excellent and high-minded effort and unselfish civic interest, we shall carry on.

The paper survived just five more years, under various editors and publishers, and in 1939 merged with *Coast Magazine*.

There surely could be no more fitting valedictory for Sam T. Clover—author, editor, and bibliophile—than one of his own early columns. In it he wrote:

Don't tell me there is no hereafter! It is too preposterous. Why, over there, they have, for browsings, all the lost manuscripts and tomes of the ages. Think of it! The Sapphic odes complete; the Alexandria library. The lost books of the Jews, burnt by the Romans. The irreplaceable manuscripts of ancient Irish national memorials, annihilated by the vandal invaders. The vanished history of Mexico, destroyed in the misbegotten zeal of the early missionaries. The wonderful library of the Palatine Apollo, a treasury of literature formed by successive emperors, which Pope Gregory VII ordered burnt. The libraries contained in the monasteries dissolved by Henry VIII. The lost thirty-five books of Polybius; Livy's lost histories; the missing books of Tacitus—these and countless other treasures unknown to moderns, are they not all housed in the Library of Shades, the constant reference of the noble army of bibliophiles!³⁴

It is pleasant to think of Sam Clover as a commanding figure in that noble army.

NOTES

¹Samuel T. Clover in *Los Angeles Saturday Night*, July 21, 1928. Unless otherwise specified, all quotations are from writings of Clover (hereafter referred to as STC) in *Los Angeles Saturday Night*. (From February 1922 to August 1927 the name of the paper was abbreviated to *Saturday Night*.) For a valuable account of Clover's varied activities, see Abraham Hoffman, "Discover the Undiscovered: Fighting Southland Editor Sam T. Clover," *The Californians* 1 (November/December 1983): 8-17.

²*Land of Sunshine* 8 (January 1898): 88.

³J. Leonard Jennewin and Jane Boorman, eds., *Dakota Panorama* (Mitchell, South Dakota: Dakota Territory Centennial Commission, 1961), 149.

⁴STC, January 28, 1922, in his column "By the Way."

⁵Helena Huntington Smith, *The War on Powder River* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), 233.

⁶*The Graphic* Pt. II:2 (October 15, 1904): 4.

⁷For an extensive treatment of the aqueduct controversy, see Abraham Hoffman, *Vision or Villainy: Origins of the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Water Controversy* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981). See also Hoffman, "Discover the Undiscovered."

⁸Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 188.

⁹Olive Percival Diary, entry for July 30, 1908. Olive Percival Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino.

¹⁰J. W. Wood, *Pasadena Historical and Personal* (Pasadena: Published by the author, 1917): 242.

¹¹STC, February 11, 1922, p. 3.

¹²STC, "By the Way," July 29, 1922, p. 4.

¹³*Ibid.*, April 11, 1925, p. 17.

¹⁴McWilliams, November 9, 1929 (Zeitlin); August 3, 1928, p. 5 (Adamic); December 21, 1929, p. 5 (Idwal Jones); December 24, 1927 (Upton Sinclair); September 21, 1929, p. 5 (C. E. S. Wood).

¹⁵STC, "Browsings," July 8, 1922, p. 19.

- ¹⁶Advertisement for Dawson's Book Shop, May 27, 1922. The advertisement has been reformatted to accommodate the available spacing.
- ¹⁷STC, "Browsings," December 24, 1921, Pt. II:2.
- ¹⁸Ibid., August 4, 1923, p. 15.
- ¹⁹Ibid., February 3, 1934, p. 5.
- ²⁰Needham, "Books," October 26, 1929, p. 11.
- ²¹STC, May 12, 1928, p. 9.
- ²²STC, December 31, 1932, p. 6.
- ²³Marco Newmark, "Pioneer Clubs of Los Angeles," *Southern California Quarterly* 31 (1949): 312.
- ²⁴STC, "By the Way," July 29, 1922, p. 21.
- ²⁵W. Irving Way, *Migratory Books*, 10. Much of the text had served as an introduction to Dawson's Catalogue No. 35.
- ²⁶STC, "By the Way," February 16, 1929, p. 6.
- ²⁷STC, November 22, 1930, p. 3.
- ²⁸STC, April 13, 1929, p. 19.
- ²⁹Foreword to *150th Birthday of Los Angeles City and County* (Los Angeles Saturday Night, 1932).
- ³⁰Stewart, *Saturday Night*, May 6, 1933, p. 5.
- ³¹*Los Angeles Times*, June 4, 1933, Pt. II: 5.
- ³²McGaffey, *Saturday Night*, June 2, 1934, p. 3.
- ³³Col. Tom Brown, quoted in *Saturday Night*, September 29, 1934, p. 4.
- ³⁴STC, "Browsings," September 22, 1923, p. 15.

HARRY DOWNIE AND THE RESTORATION OF MISSION SAN CARLOS BORROMEO, 1931-1967

by Celeste Pagliarulo, S.N.D. de N.

Y oung but determined, Henry John Downie was on his way from Los Gatos, California, to Santa Barbara to open a cabinet shop. On impulse, he decided to spend a few days with a boyhood friend, Lawrence Farrell, on the Monterey Peninsula.¹ Farrell introduced Downie to Monsignor Philip Scher, pastor of San Carlos Church, Monterey.² The monsignor warmly welcomed Downie on that 28th day of August 1931, and in the course of the conversation asked him to repair a few chipped and broken statues that were in the rectory attic. The young man acquiesced, although he had no intention of remaining on the Monterey Peninsula for more than a short time. As the days passed, he became so involved in various projects that he could not bring himself to leave. He repaired some statues, saw other things that needed attention, and simply stayed on. Years later he fondly reminisced, "I came for one month, and I've been here thirty-five years."³

Downie, known as Harry to his countless friends, was born on August 25, 1903, in San Francisco, California, of Scotch-Irish parentage. The son of Rose Morrison and Henry John Downie Sr., both natives of San Francisco, he was baptized on September 20, 1903, at Mission Dolores and was reared

in that parish.⁴ As a child, Downie showed a deep interest in all that pertained to the missions. He often was seen at work at Mission Dolores where he weeded the cemetery, repaired statues, and made models of the California missions.⁵

Downie Sr., a printer, hoped that his son would choose his trade. However, upon graduating from Everett School, the young boy followed the advice of the parish priest, Father John Sullivan,⁶ and accepted a position as an apprentice with the A.T. Hunt cabinet firm. Downie began his training on July 5, 1919, in San Francisco. With this firm, which specialized in renovations and reproductions, he learned to draft, paint, decorate, glaze and antique. By 1922, he was a full-fledged cabinet-maker, but Downie remained with the firm during the twenties engaged chiefly in the reproduction of Spanish furniture.⁷

Downie's interest in all that touched on mission life was evident on holidays and vacations when he traveled from San Diego to Sonoma, making observations as he visited the California missions. He often visited Mission San Carlos and the Royal Presidio Chapel, Monterey. Downie recalled that once, in 1929, he was intrigued with several statues and paintings that were stored in the attic of the presidio chapel.⁸

In 1931, Downie departed on a four-month voyage around the world. Employed by the Dollar Steamship Line, he remodeled and redecorated the ship's cabins—and saw some of the world.⁹ Shortly after his return, he determined to open his own business in Santa Barbara. His business venture never became a reality because that one encounter with Monsignor Scher eventually led to a decision that changed the course of his life.

Downie's first project in Monterey was the restoration of some statues that had been painted in later years. He scraped off the paint and found them beautiful in their natural state, so he merely "touched them up a bit." The results can be seen today in the statue of St. Charles Borromeo placed in the *reredos* behind the altar of the Carmel Mission Church, and in those of St. Joseph and *La Purisima* in San Carlos Church, Monterey.¹⁰ Downie next inspected some old paintings and decided to restore these. His task completed, he thought of organizing a museum in a room of the rectory. Relics stored in the rectory attic and the church sacristy were refurbished and assembled. In a short time he surveyed his museum with satisfaction and a bit of pride.¹¹

With nothing more to do in Monterey, the craftsman earnestly began to restore objects at Mission San Carlos Borromeo. About 1849, many of the church appurtenances, such as vestments, library books and candelabra, had been removed to Monterey for protection. One of the most treasured items was a monstrance used by Fray Junípero Serra.¹² Downie, adamant in his belief that these rightfully belonged at the mission, accepted dinner invitations at the San Carlos Rectory. After dinner he stealthily removed a few vestments at a time, while others were engaged in conversation, and trudged over the hill to Carmel. Father James Culleton, the associate pastor in Monterey, noticed the absence too late.¹³ His suspicions led him to Carmel, where he found the mission vestments in the sacristy neatly displayed in newly constructed glass cases. Downie's persuasive personality saved the vestments from further removal but not without an admonition to take no more.

During his first few months in Carmel, Downie was occupied making the church presentable by mending statues and restoring paintings. He then placed these in their proper atmosphere. He also worked in the garden to improve the looks of the grounds.¹⁴

It is impossible to trace chronologically the work of restoration of the Carmel Mission. Downie's usual energetic, enthusiastic way of working was to have several projects underway simultaneously. Moreover, at times he erected a room to serve a particular purpose, only to completely renovate it to serve another as the need changed. He sometimes converted a large room into two, but later removed a temporary wall to reconvert the room to its former size. He kept no records, a fact that makes the exact placement of dates difficult in many instances, but fortunately, his recollection of the reconstruction was adequate and accurate. Downie remembered where and how artifacts were unearthed and from whom objects were retrieved. He often related his recollections for the press, for historians, for anthropologists, for archeologists and for interested friends.

Downie's first actual construction project was an outdoor shrine of the Blessed Virgin Mary that he built against the remnant of an adobe wall that jutted from the northeast corner of the sarcophagus room. The small, carved, wooden statue of Our Lady is Flemish. It was intended originally for an outdoor shrine at the Royal Presidio Chapel, Monterey.¹⁵ Vandals mutilated the image until it was removed and stored in the presidio chapel. Sometime later, Downie was commissioned to carve a replica for the presidio shrine, and the original was given to him. He carved a new hand and crown for the Blessed

Mother and a new arm for the Child. Downie then placed the statue in the niche of the shrine in the mission garden. Almost all of the materials used for the shrine were found on mission property. The heavy, hewn timber above the statue had been used in a barn on the mission ranch. The inscription on the timber, *Ave Maria Purissima* (Hail Mary, most pure), is probably the work of an Indian craftsman.¹⁶ There is a slab of stone to the right of the statue. The Franciscan coat-of-arms is carved on it. This is an original that had been in the possession of the Munrás family.¹⁷ A matching slab of stone to the left was obtained from the mission quarry on the Sidney Fish ranch in Carmel Valley. On this Downie carved the Dominican coat-of-arms for the sake of balance in appearance and to show the close friendship between the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

The roof of the shrine is made of a few original tiles, and the single step below is an original altar step. A large part of the wall behind the shrine is the original adobe wall of a padre's cell; the restored adobe brick portion is fashioned from crumbled adobe from nearby ground.¹⁸

Almost simultaneously with the construction of the shrine, Downie built two rooms of the present museum that in mission days were a padre's cell and a library. These rooms were used in turn as Downie's living quarters (1932–1936), a temporary Blessed Sacrament Chapel (1936–1946) and, finally, a book display room and library (1949).¹⁹

Between 1931 and 1936, Downie gave guided tours of the mission. This additional task slowed the work of reconstruction, but benefited the mission by arousing interest and stimulating monetary donations. For the sake of atmosphere, the guide often donned a cassock, and since he failed to explain that this was not his permanent garb, tourists began to address him as "Brother Harry" and "Father Downie."²⁰ Rather than explain the situation, he merely chuckled and went about his business.

Restoration gained an impetus in 1933 when Carmel became a parish. Father Michael O'Connell, the first pastor, shared Downie's vision of a completely restored compound and realized that this unassuming young man was the one capable of doing it.²¹ He had complete faith in Downie.²²

In the spring of 1933, grating sounds could be heard in the roof of the mission church. Downie observed that the peak of the stone gable above the façade had pulled away approximately six inches from the old shingled roof. The strain exerted on the metal tie-rod that extended from the gable to a wooden beam in the interior had caused the beam to split. This demanded

HISTORIC PHOTOS OF MISSION SAN CARLOS BORRAMEO



(above) Interior of the mission church after the winter of 1852 and prior to the 1884 restoration of Rev. Angelus Delfino Casanova, pastor of San Carlos Church, Monterey. View toward the sanctuary. *All photos unless otherwise credited are courtesy the Harry Downie Collection, Archives, Diocese of Monterey.*

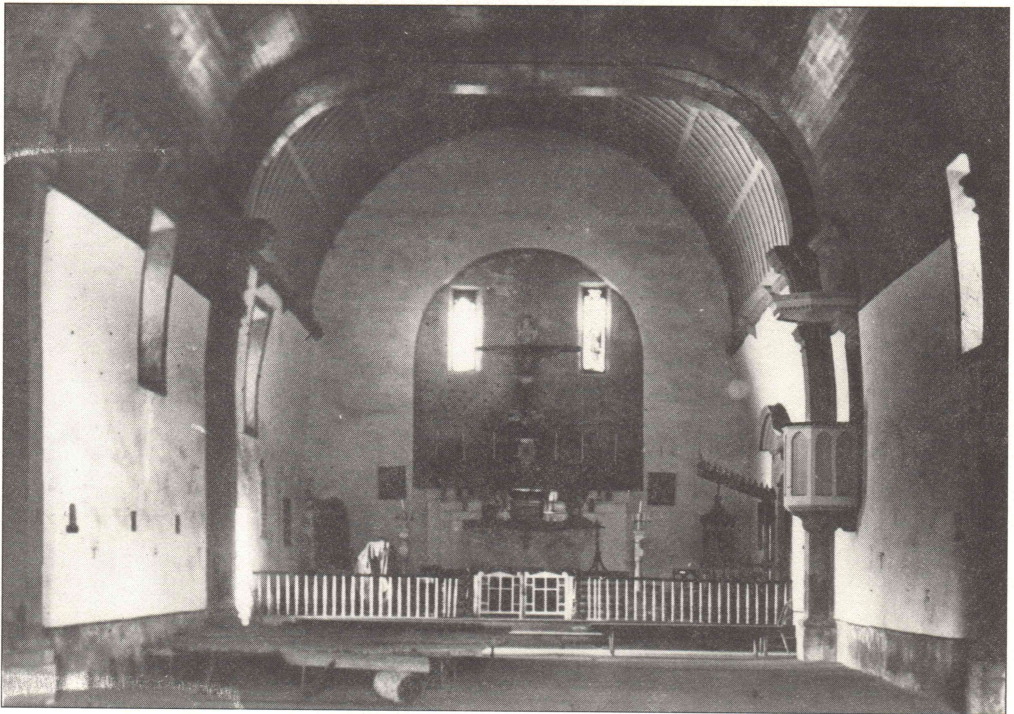
(right) Interior of the mission after the winter of 1852 and prior to the 1884 restoration. View toward the sanctuary.





Earliest of the C. W. Johnson photographs, about 1865.

Interior of the mission church after the 1884 restoration.





Side view of the bell tower after the 1884 restoration
and prior to the addition of the sarcophagus room in 1921.



(above) Mission church after the 1884 restoration.

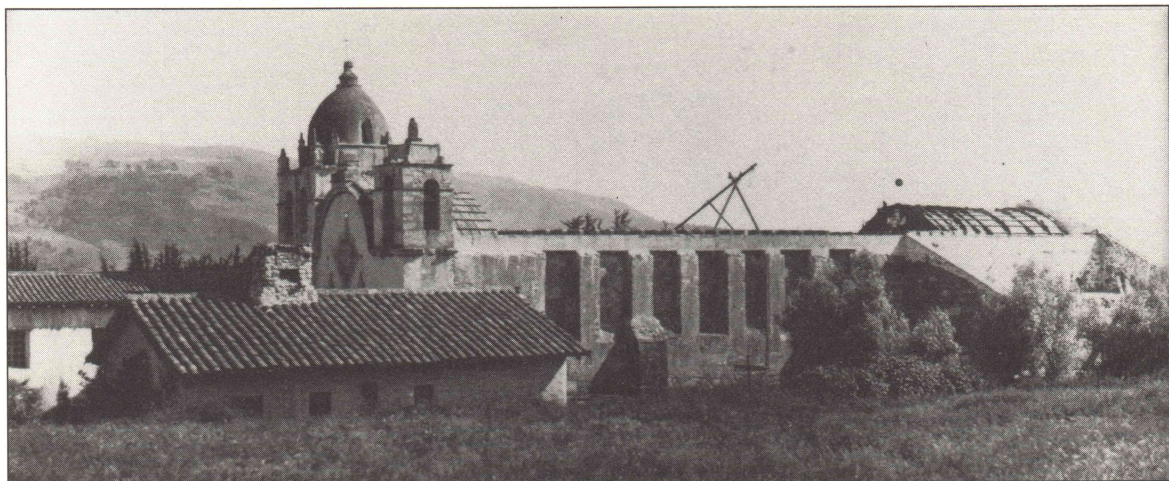
(left) Façade and side view of the bell tower, 1921.



The Onesimo family, descendants of an Indian whom Junípero Serra baptized. Manual and his son, Alejandro, carry the foundation stone to be set in place for the construction of the sarcophagus room.

The Serra sarcophagus: Joseph (Jo) Mora, sculptor, and Rev. Raymond Mestres, pastor of San Carlos Church, Monterey, about 1923.





The mission church "bareheaded" in preparation for a new tile roof that would follow the original line of the stone church of 1797, (above) May 16, 1936, and (below) June 1, 1936.



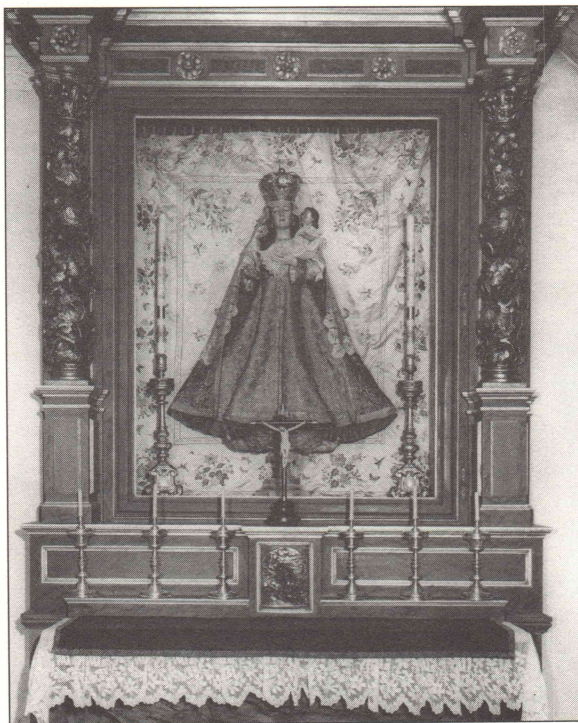
(right) Rev. Gaioni, Harry Downie, Most Rev. Philip G. Scher, Ernest Raymond, Rev. Santy, Rev. Eugene McDonald. Rededication Mass to mark the completion of the new roof. Tiles were not as yet in place. July 5, 1936.



(above) The lavabo for the washing of hands in the wall of the padres' dining room. Downie later restored it.

(right) Harry Downie, Rev. Eric O'Brien, and Diana Moore Bowden after the erection of a replica of the original cross that Serra placed on this site, August 24, 1771.





(clockwise from above left)

Downie unearthed the bowl of the baptismal font during excavation. He restored it and carved an oak cover.

Our Lady of Belen,
California's oldest statue, 1961.

Interior of the mission library, 1954.

(right) John F. and Jacqueline Kennedy
on the occasion of their visit to
the mission, May 29, 1960.

(below) Harry Downie at work.
A section of the unstained *reredos*
in the background, 1956.

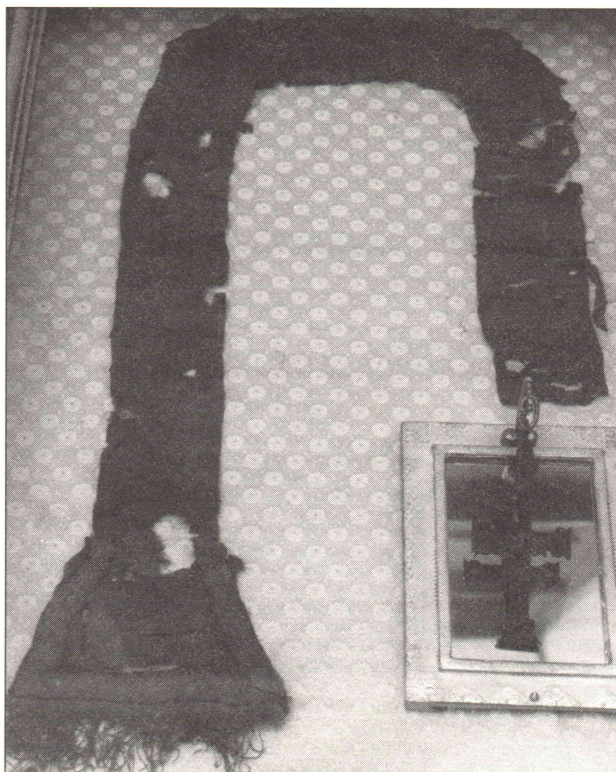




(left) Side view of the bell tower, the steps that lead to the tower and the replica of the statue of St. Benedict carved by Downie after the disappearance and the return of the original. *Virginia Kay photo, Harry Downie Collection.*

(below) The *reredos*: Crucifix listed in the 1834 inventory with Our Lady of Sorrows and St. John, both carved in 1934 by Downie. Above is a statue of St. Charles Borromeo, patron saint of the mission. *Upper left*: St. Michael balanced by St. Anthony on the right. *Lower left*: Our Lady, *Ave Maria Purissima*, with St. Bonaventure on the right. St. Michael and St. Anthony appear in an 1809 inventory. St. Bonaventure is listed in one of 1824.



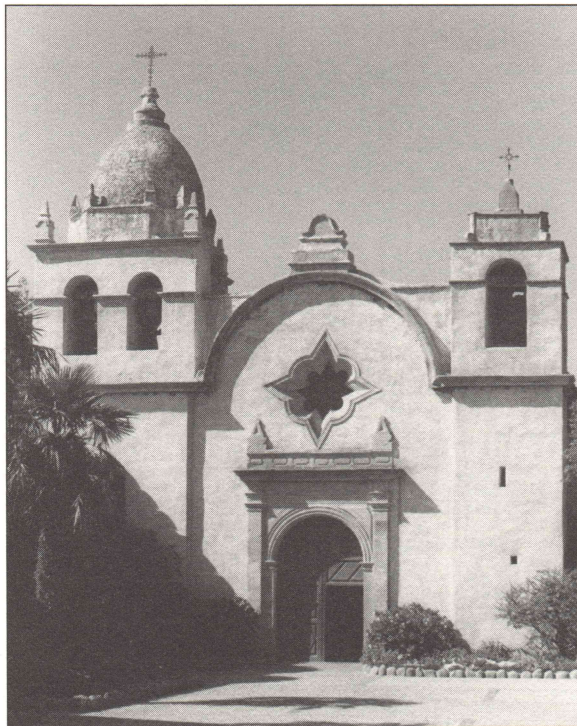


(clockwise from above)
 Junípero Serra's bronze
 reliquary that had been buried with
 his remains. It was removed during
 the 1943 canonical exhumation.

Serra's stole and reliquary
 which had been buried with his
 remains. The stole was removed
 from the grave during the
 exhumation of 1882.

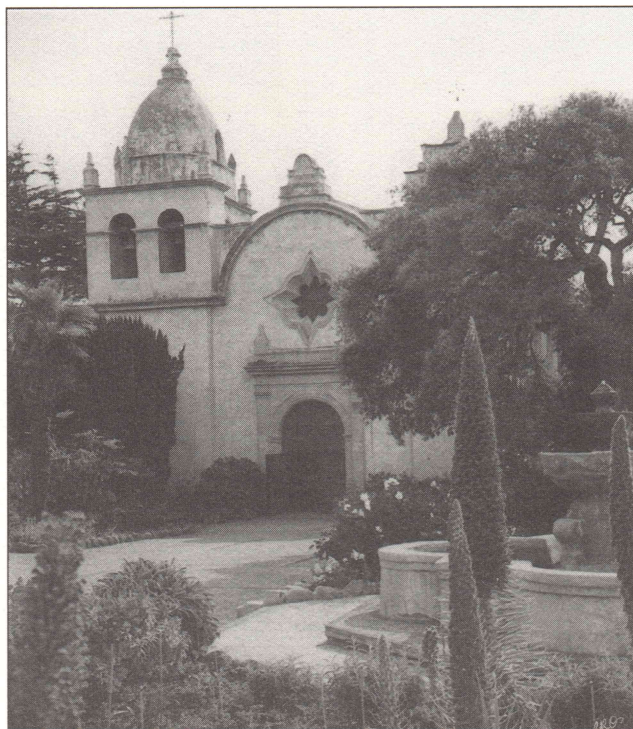
Portion of the "Vizcaíno Oak."
 Dated August 2002.
 Courtesy Bruna Rita Odello.





(left) Façade of Mission San Carlos Borromeo Basilica.

(below) Façade of Mission San Carlos Borromeo Basilica. August 2002.
Courtesy Bruna Rita Odello.

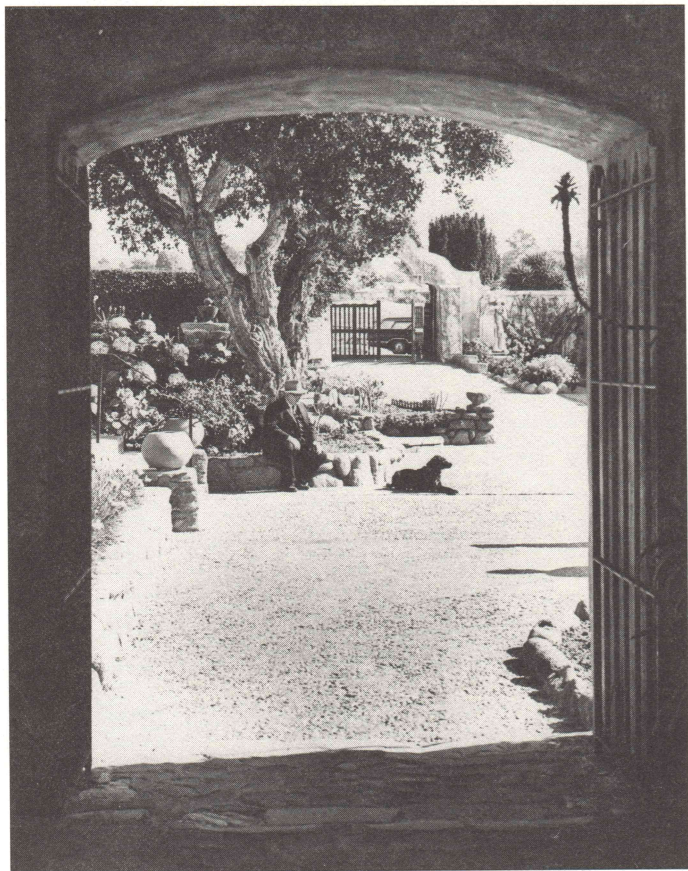




(above) Public commemoration of the elevation of the mission church to a minor basilica, April 27, 1961.

(right) Upper portion of the façade, Mission Basilica.





Harry Downie at home with Gaspar, 1965. (Harry named Gaspar, his dog, after Gaspar de Portolá, because Gaspar was born on the anniversary of the day that the Portolá expedition reached Monterey Bay.) *Courtesy Patricia Rowedder.*

immediate attention, as the entire roof threatened to collapse.²³ Father O'Connell informed Bishop Scher of the danger.²⁴ The bishop agreed to the necessary repairs and expressed his gratitude for O'Connell's and Downie's "vigilant eyes."²⁵ The gable was temporarily cut back in a slope until funds could be obtained for the construction of a new roof.²⁶

Restoration proceeded according to the flow of funds available. In the earlier years the only source of income was from tourists. With the growth of the parish, different needs arose. Funds to match these needs were obtained from pageants, charity balls, drawings, ballets, a horse show, private donations, and in later years through profit from a gift shop and through organized parish drives.

By a decree of 1934, Bishop Scher ordained that all monies raised for purposes of restoration in the diocese were to be placed in a trust fund from which no withdrawals could be made without his authorization. A provision in the trust fund prevented withdrawals except for payment of bills contracted through restoration work. Moreover, Bishop Scher clearly stated that he would sanction only restoration work carried on along the original lines as far as this was possible.²⁷

Funds for future restoration were augmented in 1934 by a religious celebration held at the mission in memory of Fray Junípero Serra on the sesquicentennial anniversary of his death.²⁸ This took the form of a dramatic pageant that coincided with the annual Monterey fiesta. *The Apostle of California* was presented nightly from August 24 through August 28. The State Senate designated August 28 *Junípero Serra Day*.²⁹ George Marion, a retired actor, authored and starred as Serra in the pageant that was enacted against the natural background of the south side of the mission.³⁰ Downie built the outdoor amphitheater that seated 1,600 from material that he used later for a new ceiling in the church.³¹

From 1930 through October 1935, \$8,150 was spent for restoration purposes without as yet an appeal to the general public. However, in October 1935, a permanent organization known as The Carmel Mission Restoration Committee requested Bishop Scher's membership and asked his permission to conduct a campaign to raise funds. Bishop Scher sanctioned the committee with the statement:

At the present time, the old roof is in a miserable condition and must be replaced. This consideration has determined me to grant the request of the Committee for a campaign to raise the needed sum. This permission I give at this time, but I wish it clearly understood that this shall be the last general campaign for reconstruction funds. I see no reason to doubt but that once the old memorial is well roofed, the local authorities with the aid of tourists and pageant receipts shall be able not only to maintain the place in good order, but in time to rebuild the quadrangle along its original lines.

It is most important that the roof be replaced just as it was originally. An exact replica has therefore been prepared by Mr. Harry Downey [sic]. This has formed the guide for the plans, which also are already complete.³²

On October 17, Bishop Scher signed an agreement with Arthur H. Allen.³³ Terms of this agreement called for a campaign to be organized, advertised, and conducted by Allen among non-Catholics for the benefit of restoration of the Carmel mission. Allen agreed to devote "his entire time and

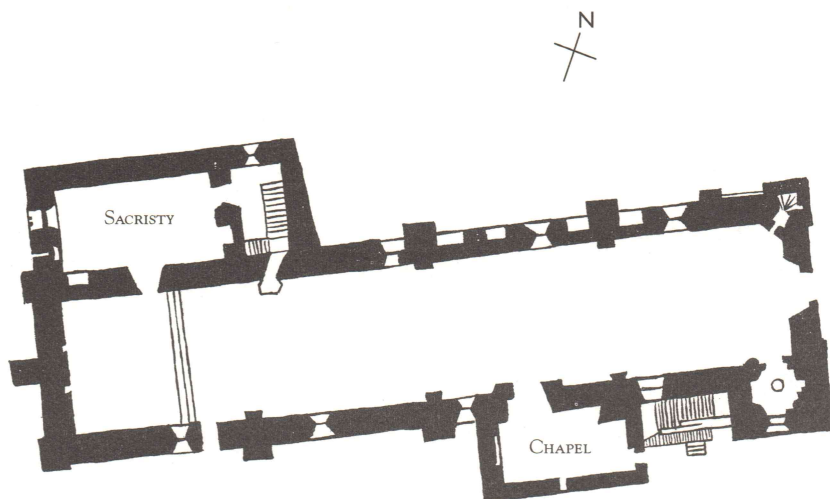
talents" to the campaign until he reached a goal of \$5,000, excluding his commission.³⁴ This represented approximately half of the amount needed to restore the roof, and the remainder was to be obtained through private donations and parish activities. Although Allen's campaign proved to be a disappointment, greater financial success was attained through donations from individuals and parish activities. By July 1, 1936, four days prior to the rededication of the newly roofed church, a total of \$6,586.60 had been received from the following sources:

Private individual	. . . . .	\$2,244.35
Parish funds	. . . . .	1,944.34
Del Monte ball and card party proceeds (Hotel Del Monte, Monterey)	. . . . .	1,159.80
Annual Serra Festivals proceeds	. . . . .	1,238.11
Total	. . . . .	\$6,586.60 ³⁵

In October 1936, Bishop Scher sent Father O'Connell a note for \$5,908.76, which represented the amount borrowed to complete the work.³⁶ As the cost of tiling the roof would have required an additional sum of \$2,000, this part of the reconstruction was left for a future time.³⁷

In preparation for the temporary closure of the church, Downie converted his two-room living quarters, which adjoined the sarcophagus room, into a temporary Blessed Sacrament Chapel. He removed a wall and renovated the interior. Three months in the making, Father James O'Doherty, resident pastor during Father O'Connell's absence, blessed the chapel on March 2, 1936.³⁸ Downie copied the Spanish Renaissance style of architecture partly from Mission Dolores but modified it because of limited floor space. Its simplicity was in the mission tradition.³⁹

The original ceiling and roof of the church of 1797 remained unparalleled among the California missions. Pilasters that divided the nave into four bays supported transverse arches of stone. The rafters of the low-pitched roof were tangent to a stone vault near the top. The walls curved outward, as they rose from the floor, in order to meet the parabolic-shaped vault of the ceiling. In 1814, when the side chapel or the Chapel of the Passion was contemplated, the stone from the vault of three bays was removed and used in the construction of the chapel and an outside staircase to the tower. The ceiling of the sanctuary bay was left intact. The stone arches over the corbels were replaced with wooden arches constructed in seven sections and fastened together with wooden dovetails.



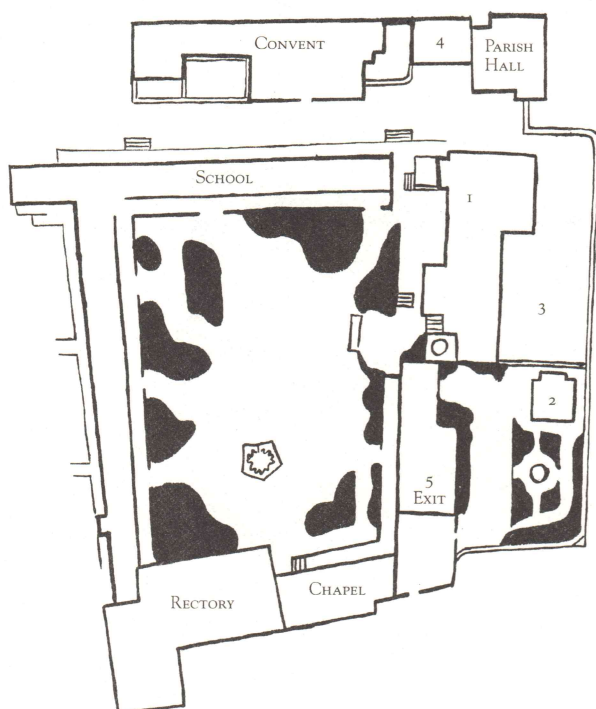
Stone church of 1797 with the addition of the Chapel of the Passion, bell towers, and outside stairway. The addition was begun in 1817 and completed in 1821.

Harry Downie Collection.

In 1819, further extensive work was done on the church. The roof was removed and timbers were placed across the walls in a transverse position. Purlins crossed the timbers, and struts were added to support the outer roof. The sidewalls were raised thirty-three inches placing the timbers at a higher level. Otherwise, the view from the choir would have been somewhat obstructed.⁴⁰

In the winter of 1852, the roof of the stone church collapsed.⁴¹ In 1884, Rev. Angelus Delfino Casanova, pastor of San Carlos Church, Monterey, replaced the roof but did not follow the original line.⁴² The ceiling of the sanctuary bay and above the choir loft was restored similarly to the original pattern. The remainder had quarter round corners with a flat ceiling formed by transverse beams at the height of the wall. The entire vault and the choir were of tongue-and-groove construction.⁴³

In 1936, this was the interior of the mission church with the exterior high-pitched roof that Downie viewed. In 1966, he recalled that he "restored it as it was in 1814 with the hope of some day plastering it to simulate the ceiling as it was originally planned and executed in 1797."⁴⁴



MISSION BASILICA AND MUSEUM

1. Sarcophagus room
 2. Book display room (padre's cell)
 3. Mission library
 4. Padre's cell
 5. Artifact room (community room)
 6. Serra cell
 7. Display room (storeroom)
 8. Padres' refectory
 9. Padres' kitchen
 10. Display room (guest dining room)
 11. Nonrestored portion
- Harry Downie Collection.*

The accidental discovery of the original line of the roof proved to be Downie's greatest aid. On January 3, 1936, he began to cut the patterns for the arches in Crespi Hall.⁴⁵ That same day he took them to the choir loft and attempted to place them in position on the front wall. Downie began to chisel away some plaster that hampered him in his work. A hunk of plaster fell to the floor and exposed a wooden plate that had been placed there to receive the original arch. Until this discovery, the height of the roof had been guess-work.

Downie next cut into the floor of the choir loft and found its entire weight fell upon the stone arch. Realizing the danger, he informed Bishop Scher and proposed that the choir loft be torn down. From a practical point of view, the wood could be used for a scaffold. Also, pictures could be taken for purposes of publicity.⁴⁶

By April 15, all of the arches had been cut out despite innumerable interruptions and difficulties.⁴⁷ Downie's work was somewhat hampered by a dif-

ference of radius in each arch. While awaiting the arrival of an instrument to measure the span and level of the base of each, he began to improve the appearance of the garden on the south side of the church.⁴⁸

In May 1936, the mission was "bare-headed." The peaked shingled roof had been removed. Tarpaulins and canvas covered the altar, statues and heaters and scaffolding extended the length of the church.⁴⁹ Downie's only real cause for alarm came from stormy weather. During a heavy night rain, water poured into the roofless church and endangered mission treasures. Downie's quick action, however, saved everything.⁵⁰

Downie strengthened the roof of the church by placing concrete bond stone beams along the top. Eleven redwood arches were raised to form the basis for the ceiling, the perimeter of which measured forty-two feet with a span of twenty-six feet. Fourteen steel tie-rods spanned the church. Redwood boards were placed over the arches and the interior painted white. The completed ceiling measured thirty-three feet from the floor.⁵¹

The new roof measured fifteen feet lower than the shingled one of an earlier attempt at restoration in 1884. Now the apex was slightly above the famous star window of the façade.

The new choir loft replaced the 1884 tongue-and-groove construction. While tearing out the old one, Downie observed markings of a timber on the south sidewall that indicated the place where the original loft joined with the wall. He found the original timber on the north sidewall still intact and used this as a model to restore the other timber. Above the timbers he placed a redwood floor.⁵²

One of Downie's last projects on the church prior to the rededication on July 5, 1936, was to improve the appearance of the façade. He filled the cracks with cement and applied a yellow tone that produced an antique effect.⁵³

Downie next turned his attention to three cells that had been under construction simultaneously with the restoration of the church. These cells comprised the first adobe building built in 1775 by the padres.⁵⁴ In later years, the padres gradually built rooms onto them until the north wing assumed its final shape.

Serra's restored cell, the room at the extreme east, was dedicated on August 29, 1937. At 2:00 P.M., Father O'Connell solemnly blessed it in the presence of those who had congregated. Local Indians, among whom were members of the Onesimo family, came as pilgrims to place a wreath of flow-

ers on the simple cot in the cell. Lady Maria Antonia Field laid a second wreath on Serra's tomb in the sanctuary of the church.⁵⁵ A Mass was celebrated after the ceremony during which Father Augustine Hobrecht, O.F.M., postulator for the cause of Serra's beatification, gave a eulogy. This day marked the formal beginning of the cause for the founder's beatification.⁵⁶

Local talent joined forces during the summer of 1938 to increase the restoration fund. A pageant, *Rose of Carmelo*, written and directed by George Marion, was presented in evening performances. It combined drama with a musical chorus of "28 of the best voices available" under the direction of Mme. Borghild Janson. Authentic costumes made by Naun Lilljenkranz presented a colorful spectacle against the natural backdrop of the south side of the mission. The number of pre-sale tickets to people from distant areas evidenced interest in the pageant. Also, a large number of local residents purchased tickets. Marion, who once again portrayed Serra, was lauded for his acting.⁵⁷

During the weeks of rehearsal, Downie was occupied in his workshop with his latest project. He constructed two massive redwood doors that he hung in the main entrance of the church shortly before the first performance of the play.⁵⁸ Thousands of parishioners and tourists have passed through these same doors that appear weathered but are none the worse for wear.

The design on the door was copied partly from an early mission confessional and partly from the carving in the façade above the entrance to the church. Each door is ten feet, four inches in height, five feet wide, and four inches thick; each is mortised and tenanted, and each is pegged.⁵⁹

The restoration of the south section of the padres' quarters—a tourist entrance, a gift shop, an artifact room, a padres' kitchen, a dining room, and a second artifact room—was completed in 1941. Except for a small room and porch, the addition of these rooms marked the completion of the north wing of the original quadrangle. In mission days the room was located on the site of the outdoor shrine of Our Lady, and the porch extended from it to the façade of the church. Downie evidenced the foundations of both but chose not to restore them because it would have partially destroyed the view of the façade. Markings on the façade where the slanted roof once rested indicate its former line.⁶⁰

Completion of the museum opened the way for construction of a needed rectory.⁶¹ On the former site of the Spanish soldiers' barracks at the south-eastern section of the former quadrangle, a long adobe building was erected.⁶²

So closely did the restorer follow the original foundation that he placed the pillars for the porch on the west side of the building in the exact places where he found the decayed bases of old supports.⁶³ On June 2, 1942, Bishop Scher blessed the completed rectory.⁶⁴ There remained a single gap in the east wing to be filled during another phase of restoration.

With the growth of the parish during the early forties, plans for restoration were augmented. Bishop Scher maintained that greater results would be realized if people had a definite goal toward which to work, and the best objective, in his estimation, was a parochial school. Although he believed the school should be a part of the mission compound, he did not bind Father O'Connell to adhere strictly to the exact placement or type of construction of the mission period.⁶⁵

Father O'Connell secured the services of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur to teach in the projected school. Classes opened February 15, 1943, in temporary quarters at the sisters' summer home in Carmel with an enrollment of approximately fifty children.⁶⁶ The first commencement exercises were held June 4 in the mission church. The graduates numbered five—June Delight Canoles, Patricia Machado, Valenina Pezzini, Thomas Bater, and Colin Kuster.⁶⁷

In mid-December 1944, Father O'Connell announced that actual construction of the Junípero Serra School would formally begin within the week. Some 27,000 adobe bricks previously had been refashioned from the crumbled adobe of earlier decades and excavation was far advanced.⁶⁸ The formal announcement, however, was withheld until the completion of a property transaction between the Catholic Church and Alma Brooks Walker. Several years of ineffective negotiations terminated with the purchase of three acres of land on the south side of the property. This property, purchased in the name of the Catholic Church, was vital to the project.⁶⁹

Four classrooms were built on the site of the former dormitories for unmarried Indians. This structure formed a part of the south wing.⁷⁰ Downie adhered to the mission type of architecture—a low, adobe structure with a red tile roof and a covered porch that faces the courtyard. In the interior, for purposes of utility, the classrooms were modernized.⁷¹

Junípero Serra School opened at the mission on September 10, 1945, with an enrollment of ninety-nine students. The new classrooms had not quite been completed; therefore, classes were conducted in Crespi Hall for those in the third through eighth grades. The first and second graders used

the former rectory. On September 24, classes resumed in the spacious new classrooms.⁷²

The next phase of restoration was to fill in the remaining gap between the museum and rectory in the east wing. Continued growth of the parish necessitated a chapel in which daily Mass could be offered. The need was realized through the generosity of Mrs. William H. McCormich, Carl Bensberg, Gerald Bensberg, and Fred Bensberg, who donated the chapel in memory of their mother, Anne Sutter. A simple stone slab in the floor near the sanctuary marks Sutter's burial place. Downie interred her remains there prior to the completion of the chapel.⁷³

This section of the quadrangle serves as an example of how the mission buildings were in a constant state of change. The chapel is built on the site of guestrooms that previously had been a blacksmith and carpenter shop.⁷⁴

An outstanding feature of the chapel is the exposed weathered-adobe wall on the east side of the wing. This wall is a fragment of the original blacksmith and carpenter shop constructed in 1774; thus, the adobe of this wall is the oldest in California. Downie left this portion of the chapel wall without plaster because it typifies the type of construction of earlier years: that is, layers of rock placed between the adobe to hold the plaster.⁷⁵

Although the chapel was completed and in use by March 1947, it was not dedicated until June 11.⁷⁶ Bishop Aloysius Joseph Willinger officiated.⁷⁷

Almost simultaneously with the construction of the chapel, a small gap in the south wing of the quadrangle was filled. This addition comprises a library, storeroom, and office space. As the year 1947 drew to a close, there remained but one wing to be restored.⁷⁸

In 1950, a major parish drive for funds was launched to obtain \$100,000 necessary to restore the west side of the former quadrangle. A beginning contribution of \$5,000 was received in July 1950 from Bing Crosby, famed singer and movie actor. The sum represented proceeds of the annual Bing Crosby Pro-Amateur Golf Tournament at Pebble Beach, California. Crosby designated the funds for improvements of the school grounds.⁷⁹ On October 23, the campaign began in earnest when approximately fifty local residents met in Crespi Hall to offer their services for a thirty-day drive. Each volunteer was assigned a district in which to ask for contributions from Carmel residents.⁸⁰

By May 1951, a school cafeteria and a single classroom were completed on the southwest wing. The day they finished this project, workmen began

to move Crespi Hall to a new location at the northwest corner of the mission property to make way for further restoration. From 1953 through 1955, the remaining three classrooms of the west wing were erected as the need arose.⁸¹ Thus, the mission compound was restored in the opposite order of its decay.

On October 15, 1951, ground was broken for the construction of a long Spanish-style building that would be parallel to the west wing of the quadrangle.⁸² Father O'Connell officiated at its dedication upon completion, December 21, 1952.⁸³ The building served as a convent and is not a restoration.

In 1958, Carmel's pastor of twenty-five years, O'Connell, was transferred to St. Patrick's Parish, Watsonville, California. The Most Rev. Henry Anselm Clinch⁸⁴ assumed his duties at Carmel on September 8, 1958, to become the second pastor of the mission parish.⁸⁵ Under his administration, there were two major building projects that were not restorations. In 1960, the rectory was enlarged by an addition at the southeast corner of the quadrangle. The second building project, adjacent to the convent on the north side, was a tile-roof adobe, the Munras Memorial Museum. It was built through the generosity of Lady Field and contains many of her family heirlooms. Bishop Clinch blessed the museum on September 20, 1961, following an afternoon Mass.⁸⁶

Less extensive improvements were made in 1960 after Downie noticed that much of the surface stone on the outside steps that lead to the bell tower had deteriorated. He replaced the damaged stone steps and washed-out mortar. He also plastered the dome of the tower as much as possible without removing the antique effect and patched and waterproofed the entire tower structure.

Three years later, in 1963, Downie renovated the sacristy that until then had retained the original plaster. He placed a new ceiling on the old timbers and added vestment cases that he constructed in the sacristy.⁸⁷

In 1965, Downie fulfilled his desire to plaster the ceiling of the church "to simulate . . . [it] as it was originally planned and executed in 1797."⁸⁸ Whitened ceiling and walls blended as one.

The sanctuary of the church had been renovated several times. In 1940, Downie constructed a wooden *mensa* to cover the white marble altar installed in 1884 by Father Angelus Delfino Casanova. It remained there until December 1943, at which time Downie lowered the sanctuary floor to its original

level and removed two of the five steps of the predella and the marble altar. Downie constructed and installed a new wooden *mensa* and gradin. In 1956, he installed a *reredos* and replaced the wooden *mensa* and gradin of 1943 with a travertine marble altar and gradin. In 1965, Downie removed the marble gradin to enable the priest to offer Mass facing the congregation, and he extended the predella to the sidewalls of the sanctuary to conform to new church regulations.⁸⁹

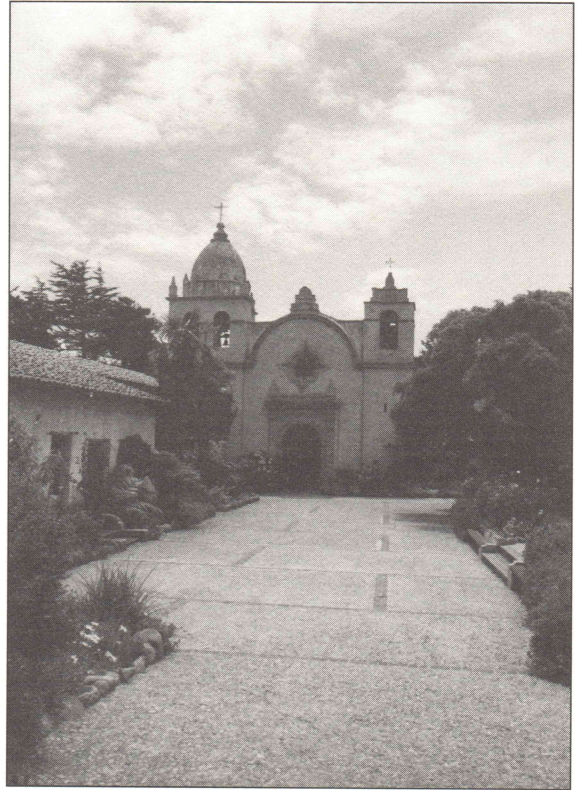
Since 1931, when Downie determined to devote his talent and energy toward the restoration of Mission San Carlos, he always envisioned a completely restored compound that would most nearly resemble the mission as it was when it reached its apex. He wanted Carmel to attract the attention of tourists the world over, and he envisioned it as a place where the very atmosphere would transport the tourist into the past. He dreamed of Carmel as a place worthy to be the final resting-place of the founder of the California Mission system, Fray Junípero Serra.

Through Downie's skill and effort, beginning in 1931, he single-handedly supervised and directed every phase of the restoration. Major restoration always had been carried on under the direction of the Ordinary, but fortunately, his friend and confidant, Bishop Philip Scher, early recognized his genius and wholeheartedly supported Downie in his decisions. The only major exception concerns the purpose for which the restored rooms were to be used. Downie would have preferred to restore them to their former use, but the bishop maintained that they had to serve some practical purpose.⁹⁰ The enthusiastic Father O'Connell, Carmel's pastor from 1933 to 1958, left Downie entirely free to do what he wished. If the craftsman felt some work was necessary, he worked out his plans and submitted them to the pastor who in turn contacted the Ordinary. Father O'Connell supported Downie in every instance.⁹¹

Through the combined efforts of Bishop Philip Scher, Bishop Aloysius Willinger, Bishop Harry Clinch, Monsignor Michael O'Connell, and the genius of Harry Downie, Mission San Carlos Borromeo is the most perfectly restored of all the California missions. Downie fulfilled his dream at the mission that was the seat of authority of the Alta California mission system and the final resting place of Fray Junípero Serra.

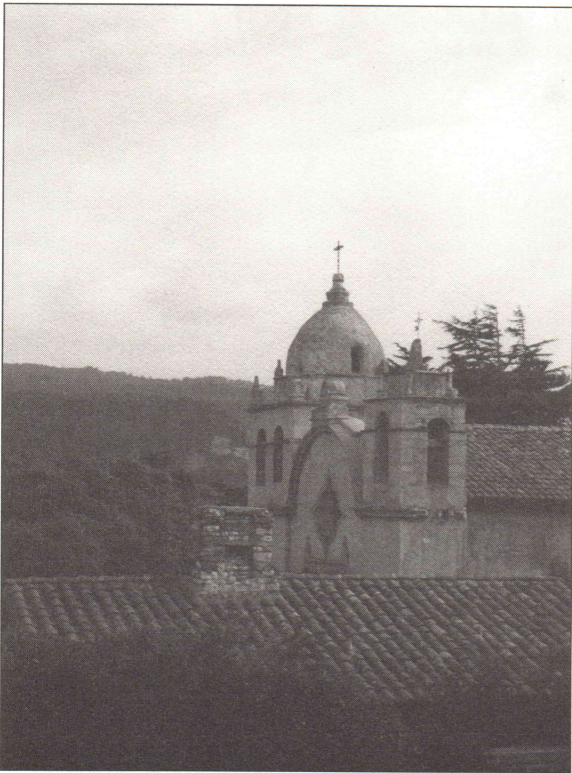
In his efforts to make Mission San Carlos a perfect restoration, Downie steeped himself in the knowledge of mission history, always meticulous to check out facts before he proceeded on any project. His sources of informa-

MODERN PHOTOS OF MISSION SAN CARLOS BORROMEO



(above) Mission San Carlos Borromeo Basilica.
Dated October 2002. *All photos unless otherwise credited are courtesy Bruna Rita Odello.*

(left) Side view of the façade and the bell tower.
Dated October 2002.





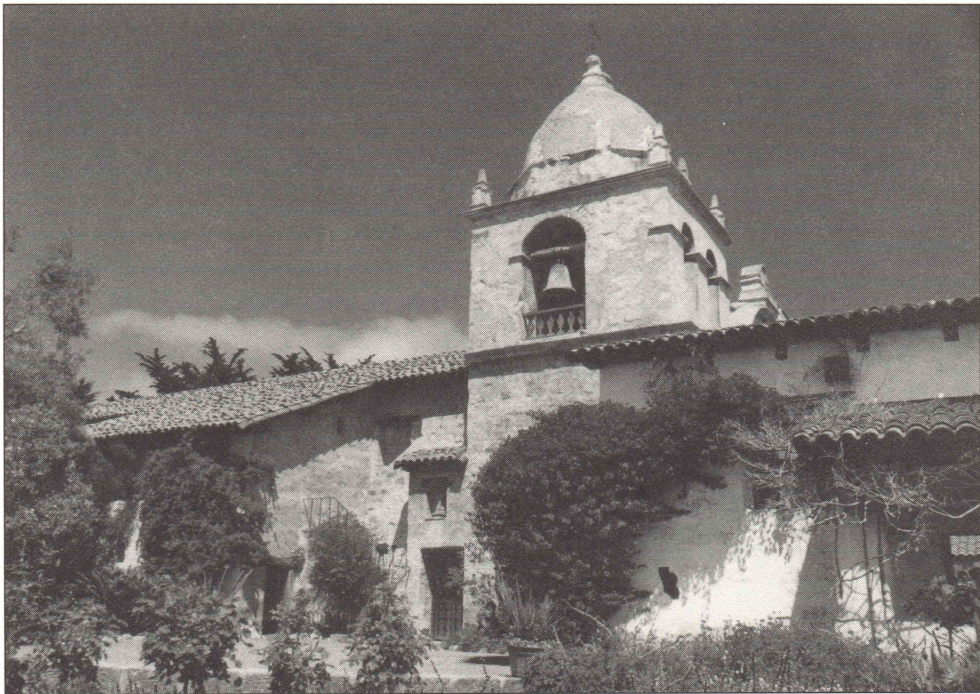
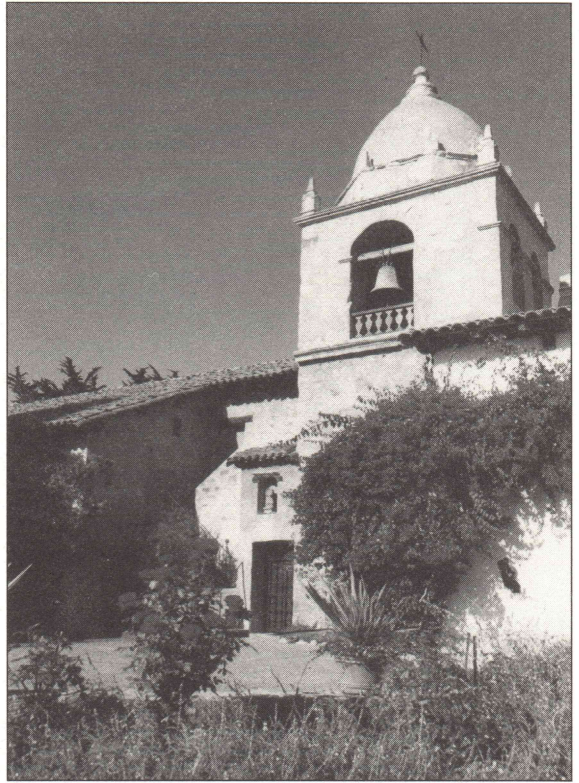
(left) Rose window and bell tower of the mission. Dated January 2003.

(below) Front entrance and the rose window. Dated October 2002.



(right) Side view of the bell tower and a portion of the quadrangle. The small replica of the statue of St. Benedict is visible in the niche. Dated December 2002.

(below) Side view of the bell tower and a portion of the quadrangle. A replica of the statue of St. Benedict is visible in the niche. Dated August 2002.





(above) Downie's replica of Serra's cross of August 24, 1776. Downie used the rocks at the base of Serra's cross to support his replica. A partial view of the quadrangle. Dated August 2002.



(left) View of the steps that lead to the bell tower and the replica of the statue of St. Benedict carved by Downie in 1960 after the disappearance and the return of the original. Dated August 2002.



Side view of the bell tower, the steps that lead to the bell tower and the replica of the statue of St. Benedict carved by Downie after the disappearance and the return of the original. Dated August 2002.

Side view of the bell tower and a portion of the quadrangle with the replica of the cross that Serra erected August 24, 1771. Dated August 2002.





(left) Replica of the statue of St. Benedict carved by Downie after the disappearance and the return of the original. Dated December 2002.

(below) View of the fountain and quadrangle. Dated December 2002.





(right) A mission bell with swallows' nests. Dated August 2002.

(below) A view of the portico. Dated December 2002.





The restored padres' dining room that shows the *lavabo* for washing hands after Downie restored it. Dated September 2002.

Serra's sarcophagus, mission vestments and the silver collection.
Dated September 2002.





Fray Junípero Serra's restored cell dedicated August 29, 1937.
The bed is of original mission timber. Dated September 2002.

Model of the mission built by Downie at age twelve.
Dated September 2002.





(left) Polychrome wood statue of St. Joseph gifted to the mission by José de Gálvez, Visitador-General of New Spain. Antique gold altarpiece donated by Lady Maria Antonia Field, a descendant of the Munras family. Dated January 2003.

(below) Exposed weathered adobe wall, a fragment of the original blacksmith and carpenter shop constructed in 1774. It is California's oldest adobe. Dated June 2002.



tion were varied, but his principal source was actual excavation. Telltale evidence through archeological exploration enabled him to restore the mission quadrangle on the original foundation. There are but two exceptions. For practical purposes of widening the classrooms, Downie placed the new foundation three feet off the old on the south side of the south wing.⁹² The remaining exception concerns the 1960 addition to the rectory. In excavating, Downie discovered the foundation of a smaller building separate from the quadrangle. He built the rectory extension on the same site but not on the same foundation.⁹³

A second valuable source is through annual and semiannual reports, several of which Downie had photostatic copies. He relied almost entirely upon such a report for the restoration of the padres' quarters. The inventory, dated December 10, 1834, comprises thirty-nine pages. It includes a list of "all movable and immovable property of the Mission"⁹⁴ and describes in detail the church, cemetery, and padres' quarters; it gives the size of the rooms, their use, placement of doors and windows, and the materials used for the floor—e.g., tile or wood.⁹⁵

It was through a study of annual reports that the restorer verified the time of construction of some buildings. He maintained that the Serra cell and the two adjoining cells were the first to comprise the padres' quarters. Other rooms on the north side of the padres' quarters were added next and the rooms on the south side of the wing at a later date. This accounts for the fact that the roof on the north side is longer than that on the south side. The padres extended the roof to a higher pitch when they added the rooms on the south side.⁹⁶

Downie's familiarity with documents and his knowledge of construction enabled him to offer an explanation that concerns the church tower. He maintained that the front of the tower was finished first and the back portion shortly before the completion of the church. He cited the biennial report for the years 1795 and 1796⁹⁷ in which Padre Fermín Lasuén⁹⁸ wrote that the top of the tower was still wanting even though it was advanced to such an extent that the bells would be hung shortly. Moreover, the way the tower is constructed indicates that the back portion was added later. This explains why the bell opening on the south side of the tower is off-center.⁹⁹

Accurately recorded accounts of scientific explorers who visited the shores of Monterey and drawings of early artists who accompanied them provided another source of information. Sketches made by artists of the following four

scientific expeditions in particular helped Downie piece together clues and deduct facts.

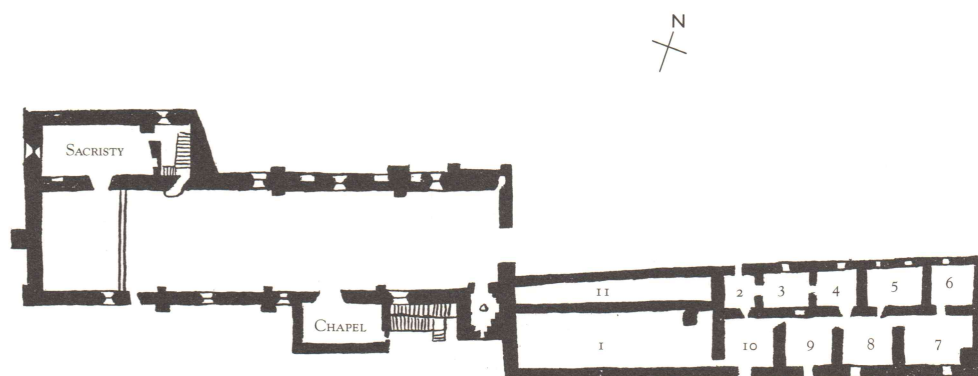
Jean François Galaup de La Pérouse, a French explorer, reached Monterey on September 14, 1786, and remained until the 24th. During his stay, La Pérouse visited Mission San Carlos where Lasuén warmly welcomed him.¹⁰⁰ A sketch of the La Pérouse reception drawn by Gaspard Duche de Vancy¹⁰¹ gives the oldest view of the landscape and the adobe church described by Serra in his July 1, 1784, report on the missions.¹⁰²

September 1791, Captains Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamante y Guerra visited Monterey.¹⁰³ With them came several artists who left sketches of the landscape, portraits, and botanical and zoological illustrations. Two pictures, the "Mision del Carmelo de Monterey"¹⁰⁴ and the "Vista del Convento, Yglecia, y Rancherias de la Mision del Carmelo" by José Cardero, show the rudimentary structures of the times, the Indian village on the hillside, and most important, the Serra adobe at the northwest part of the compound.¹⁰⁵

An English explorer, Captain George Vancouver, made Monterey a port of call on three occasions. He entered the bay on November 27, 1792, and remained until January 15, 1793. Vancouver returned on November 1, 1793, for a four-day visit and again from November 6 until December 2, 1794.¹⁰⁶ Joseph Sykes, the Vancouver expedition artist, left a sketch of the mission after the Serra adobe had been removed but before much activity had begun for the new stone church.¹⁰⁷

Captain Frederick William Beechey, another visitor, first dropped anchor in Monterey Bay on January 1, 1827, and remained until January 5. He returned on October 27 and departed on December 17, 1827.¹⁰⁸ Beechey's description of the mission and the sketches by William Smyth, the artist who accompanied Beechey, are noteworthy because they detail the approach to the mission.¹⁰⁹ The Beechey sketch clearly shows the north and east wings of the quadrangle.

Downie thoroughly familiarized himself with the writings of these explorers and the drawings of the artists. He referred to them time and again in his work to make an exact restoration. His familiarity with the Franciscan missionary Francisco Palóu's writings and the Sykes sketch, coupled with the desire to plant a pepper tree, led to one of his most unique discoveries—the exact spot where Serra, on August 24, 1771, erected the cross in the quadrangle. On impulse, Downie chose a spot near the south wall of the sarcophagus room. Shovel in hand, he dug down and soon uncovered some



THE MISSION COMPOUND IN MODERN TIMES

Open to the public:

1. Mission church (Basilica, 1960)
2. Museum
3. Cemetery
4. Munras memorial
5. Museum

Harry Downie Collection.

stone placed in a circular position about four feet in diameter. In the center he found small fragments of wood mixed with earth. Downie checked his discovery with the Sykes' picture and realized that this was the site of the cross. He fashioned a replica of the large cross as drawn by Sykes from ten-by-ten-inch square hewn timbers and placed it on the exact spot of Serra's cross.¹¹⁰

Actual photographs that appeared in the 1860s are more reliable than the sketches because of freedom from embellishments. The earliest of these are the C. W. Johnson photos, many of which are a part of the Harry Downie Collection. Downie's study of the Johnson photos and of the pictures taken by photographers who followed Johnson—C. E. Watkins, Fiske, C. D. Turritt—bring to light some almost imperceptible details. A glance at a photograph would move him to point out the mark of the original adobe wall on the mission church or the shake roof put on the sacristy so that Mass could be offered for the Indians on San Carlos Day.

Downie relied upon the testimony of old-timers in his work of restoration. This is evidenced particularly in the cemetery on the north side of the church. Old-timers pointed out some of the Indian gravesites. He also followed their description when he marked the graves by mounds of dirt decorated with abalone shells.¹¹¹

Downie's knowledge of the techniques of Spanish-Colonial construction also enabled him to make a proper restoration. His attitude is reflected in his statement:

In restoration you start with what you find and continue the same way. . . . You have to do it the way it was done, putting in all the crooked wall, and inaccuracies. You can't have any ideas of your own; you'll fizzle. You've got to follow their ideas. . . .

The Spanish were excellent craftsmen, but they were after an effect rather than perfection. They could build a straight wall, but a wavy one appealed to them more. A square corner, a straight line; neither looked good to a Spaniard.¹¹²

This is exactly what Downie did. He started with what he found—timbers, broken bits of tile, crumbled adobe—and he put them together again in the way the Spaniards had built. The padres' quarters typify his use of original materials.¹¹³ The headers over the doorways and windows are original beams that he found on the property. The adobe bricks were refashioned from crumbled adobe on the ground nearby. The tile floor of the Serra cell, the former *sala*, and the padre's cell adjacent to it are tiles which Downie unearthed during excavation in the area of the south wing.¹¹⁴ The sources which this restorer relied upon—excavation, annual and semi-annual reports, accounts of visitors, sketches of early artists, photographs, the testimony of old-timers, and Spanish-Colonial construction—were invaluable aids for the restoration of the mission. Moreover, the use of original materials found on the property as far as they were available; the conversion of rooms to their original purpose as much as was permitted, and the adherence to a restoration on the original foundation—with only two minor exceptions—enabled Downie to achieve his purpose. Mission San Carlos Borromeo is the most perfectly restored of the missions of Alta California. Downie successfully recaptured the past.

NOTES

¹Rev. Lawrence Farrell and Downie remained friends throughout their lives.

²From 1930 to 1933, Scher was pastor of San Carlos Church, Monterey, which included Carmel as a mission.

³Interview with Harry Downie, July 4, 1966. Downie remained at the mission for forty-nine years. His death occurred March 10, 1980, and he was buried in the mission cemetery March 13, 1980. Interview with Miriam Schermann Downie, April 27, 2002. (All Downie interviews were conducted by the author.)

⁴*Book of Baptisms*, IV, 211, Mission Dolores Archives.

⁵Interview with Harry Downie, August 16, 1965. Downie made a model of Mission San Carlos at the age of twelve; it was one of his treasured possessions.

⁶John William Sullivan became the pastor of Mission Dolores in 1916. He was designated monsignor on April 8, 1930.

⁷Interview with Harry Downie, July 4, 1966; *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, January 12, 1955.

⁸Interview with Harry Downie, July 4, 1966.

⁹Monterey Peninsula Herald, January 12, 1955.

¹⁰Interview with Harry Downie, July 4, 1966.

¹¹Ibid., August 16, 1965.

¹²Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M., first president of the mission system established in Alta California, was born at Petra on the island of Majorca on November 24, 1713. He was baptized Miguel José on the day of his birth. Serra early showed a desire to enter the Franciscan order, and at the age of sixteen was admitted to the novitiate at Palma, the capital city of Majorca. He made his first profession as a monk on September 15, 1731. In 1744, he was appointed professor at the Lullian University where he became distinguished as a professor of philosophy and as a theologian. On April 13, 1749, Serra left Majorca with his friend and future biographer, Francisco Paláu, O.F.M., for the mission fields in Mexico. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish dominions on June 25, 1767, Fray José García selected Serra as president of the Baja California Missions. In 1769, at the age of fifty-six, he was named Father-President of the mission system to be founded in Alta California. Mission San Carlos Borromeo became his headquarters. It was there that he died on August 28, 1784. He was buried in the sanctuary of the existing fifth church. The present Mission Basilica is the seventh church that was built on the same site but not on the same foundation.

¹³James Culleton was an associate pastor at the San Carlos Church, Monterey, for nine months from 1928 to 1929. In 1929, he was appointed secretary to the bishop and in 1930, vice-chancellor. In 1932, Culleton was vice-chancellor and associate pastor at San Carlos. In 1933, he was chancellor and secretary to the bishop.

¹⁴Interview with Harry Downie, July 4, 1966.

¹⁵Donated by Don Hill, a resident of Pebble Beach, California.

¹⁶Interview with Harry Downie, July 23, 1966; Monterey Peninsula Herald, July 13, 1960.

¹⁷The Munrás family is one of the early Spanish families who settled in Alta California. Lady Maria Antonia Field was a descendant of the family. Her great-grandfather, Estéban Carlos Munrás, married Catalina Manzanelli y Ponce de Leon. Their child, Maria Antonia, married Don Rafael de Danglada, and the only child born of this union, Catalina de Danglada y Munrás, married Thomas Jefferson Field. The Fields had two children: Estéban and Maria Antonia. Lady Field was born on December 5, 1885, and died on July 23, 1962. She is buried in the mission cemetery.

¹⁸Interview with Harry Downie, July 23, 1966.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Information obtained by reading Downie's private correspondence, which was made available for the author's use.

²¹On October 27, 1933, Carmel became a parish, and Father Michael O'Connell was named the first pastor.

²²Interview with Harry Downie, July 23, 1966; interview with Monsignor Michael O'Connell, June 20, 1967.

²³Monterey Peninsula Herald, undated newspaper clipping, Harry Downie Scrapbook, made available by Downie.

²⁴O'Connell to Scher, Carmel, April 4, 1933. Diocese of Fresno Chancery Archives (hereafter cited DFCA).

²⁵Scher to O'Connell, Fresno, April 6, 1933. Ibid.

²⁶Interview with Harry Downie, August 16, 1965.

²⁷Culleton to O'Connell, Fresno, October 23, 1934. DFCA.

²⁸It was Scher's idea to have a religious celebration.

²⁹Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 41—Relative to the establishment of the twenty-eighth day of August 1934, as *Junípero Serra Day*. Filed with Secretary of State, May 15, 1933.

³⁰George Francis Marion (1860-1945), actor, director, producer, spent twenty-five years on Broadway as a director and several years in Hollywood. In 1932, he retired and made his home in Carmel, where he continued to be active in local affairs.

³¹San Francisco Chronicle, August 19, 1934; August 24, 1934.

³²Scher to To Whom It May Concern, Fresno, October 10, 1935. DFCA.

³³Arthur Allen, chairman of the Carmel Mission Restoration Fund, carried out the campaign on an independent basis.

³⁴Philip G. Scher and Arthur H. Allen Agreement, made and entered into this 17th day of October 1935. DFCA.

³⁵Scher to Lewis W. Hill, Fresno, July 1, 1936. Ibid.

³⁶Scher to O'Connell, Fresno, October 17, 1936. Ibid.

³⁷Scher to Hill, Fresno, July 1, 1936. Ibid.

³⁸James O'Doherty served as pastor *pro tempore* at Carmel for nine months in 1935-1936.

- ³⁹*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, February 27, 1936.
- ⁴⁰Interview with Harry Downie, July 23, 1966.
- ⁴¹T.H.S., trans., "The Death and Burial of Father Junipero Serra, Founder of the Missions of California," *Hutchings' California Magazine*, IV (May 1860), 496.
- ⁴²Bishop Thaddeus Amat appointed Casanova pastor of San Carlos Church, Monterey, in 1863. Casanova died on March 11, 1893, and on March 15 was buried in the Pacheco crypt, San Carlos Church, Monterey.
- ⁴³Interview with Harry Downie, July 26, 1966.
- ⁴⁴*Ibid.*, July 30, 1966.
- ⁴⁵Scher built Crespi Hall while he was pastor of San Carlos Church, Monterey. It was dedicated on August 15, 1931. Downie converted the hall into a workshop out of necessity.
- ⁴⁶Downie to Scher, Carmel, January 4, 1936. DFCA.
- ⁴⁷*Ibid.*, April 15, 1936.
- ⁴⁸*Ibid.*, March 2, 1936.
- ⁴⁹*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, May 25, 1936.
- ⁵⁰*The Carmel Pine Cone*, undated clipping in the Downie Scrapbook.
- ⁵¹*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, May 25, 1936.
- ⁵²Interview with Harry Downie, July 30, 1966.
- ⁵³James Culleton, "Historical Note," July 2, 1936. DFCA.
- ⁵⁴Interview with Harry Downie, July 23, 1966.
- ⁵⁵*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, August 21, 1937; August 26, 1937.
- ⁵⁶*Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷*Ibid.*, August 3, 1938; *The Carmel Pine Cone*, August 12, 1938.
- ⁵⁸*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, August 3, 1938.
- ⁵⁹Interview with Harry Downie, July 30, 1966.
- ⁶⁰*Ibid.*
- ⁶¹Rev. Raymond Maria Mestres built the first rectory. It is separate from the mission and not a part of the restoration. Rev. Michael Murphy lived in this rectory from 1933 to 1942 when the new one was completed. The first rectory was converted into a museum.
- ⁶²One hundred and two feet long and thirty-three feet wide.
- ⁶³*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, July 19, 1941.
- ⁶⁴*Ibid.*, June 5, 1942.
- ⁶⁵Scher to O'Connell, Fresno, May 28, 1943. DFCA.
- ⁶⁶Villa Maria Angelica, as the summer home was named, was a gift of Lady Maria Antonia Field to Sister Mary Angelica, S.H., who transferred it to the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. It was completed in 1930 and occupied only in the summer until 1942.
- ⁶⁷*Notre Dame Annals* (1943): 2-4, Notre Dame Archives, Belmont, California.
- ⁶⁸During excavation Downie found the old south entrance to the quadrangle that was midway in the south wing.
- ⁶⁹*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, December 14, 1944.
- ⁷⁰There remained a gap between the first classroom and the rectory to be filled in at another time.
- ⁷¹*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, December 14, 1944. Funds for the estimated \$30,000 cost were secured through an organized parish drive.
- ⁷²*Notre Dame Annals* (1945): 7-8, Notre Dame Archives, Belmont, California.
- ⁷³Interview with Harry Downie, July 23, 1966.
- ⁷⁴*Ibid.*, July 30, 1966.
- ⁷⁵*San Jose Mercury Herald and News*, October 13, 1946; interview with Harry Downie, July 30, 1966.
- ⁷⁶*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, March 10, 1947.
- ⁷⁷Aloysius Joseph Willinger, C.Ss.R., was born on April 19, 1886, in Baltimore, Maryland. He entered the Redemptorist order on June 15, 1905, and was professed on August 2, 1906. Ordained on July 2, 1911, he was engaged in pastoral and missionary activities in the United States and Puerto Rico from 1911 to 1929. He was consecrated Bishop of Ponce on October 28, 1929. On December 12, 1946, Willinger was translated to the titular See of Bida and appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Monterey-Fresno. Willinger succeeded to the See of Monterey-Fresno on January 3, 1953, and resigned October 25, 1967. He died July 25, 1973.
- ⁷⁸Interview with Harry Downie, July 30, 1966.

⁷⁹Monterey Peninsula Herald, July 13, 1950.

⁸⁰Ibid., October 24, 1950.

⁸¹Ibid., May 9, 1951.

⁸²Interview with Harry Downie, July 30, 1966.

⁸³Notre Dame Annals (1952): 44, Notre Dame Archives; Monterey Peninsula Herald, December 20, 1952.

⁸⁴Born on October 27, 1908, Henry Anselm Clinch was ordained by Bishop Scher on June 6, 1936, in Fresno, California. From 1940 to 1948 he was editor of *The Central California Register*. Bishop Clinch was engaged in pastoral work in the Diocese of Monterey-Fresno (1936-1940 and 1948-1956). He was consecrated Titular Bishop of Badise and designated auxiliary to Bishop Willinger on February 27, 1957, at Fresno. On December 14, 1967, Clinch was installed as bishop of the newly created Diocese of Monterey. He was the third bishop of Monterey. His death occurred on March 2003.

⁸⁵Monterey Peninsula Herald, September 4, 1958.

⁸⁶Ibid., September 21, 1961.

⁸⁷Interview with Harry Downie, July 30, 1966.

⁸⁸See note 40, ante.

⁸⁹Interview with Harry Downie, June 20, 1967. Downie opened the sepulchrum of the Casanova altar before he removed it and found the date of consecration. The Casanova altar was installed in 1884 but remained unconsecrated until 1885.

⁹⁰Interview with Monsignor James Culleton, August 25, 1966.

⁹¹Interview with Harry Downie, July 30, 1966; interview with O'Connell, June 20, 1967.

⁹²Interview with Harry Downie, August 16, 1965.

⁹³Ibid., July 30, 1966.

⁹⁴Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmelo)*, ed. by Pudlowski (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1934), p. 185.

⁹⁵Interview with Harry Downie, August 4, 1965.

⁹⁶Ibid., June 20, 1967.

⁹⁷Biennial Report for the Years 1795 and 1796. Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M., trans. and ed., *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén* (2 vols., Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965), II: 383.

⁹⁸Fermín Lasuén, O.F.M., born on June 7, 1736, was a native of Victoria, province of Alaya, Spain. He ministered in Baja California from 1768 until 1773. In the latter year Lasuén journeyed to Alta California where he labored at Missions San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Diego before his election to the presidency of the mission system. As president, his official residence was San Carlos. He died there on June 26, 1803, and was buried in one of the sanctuary tombs of the mission church.

⁹⁹Interview with Harry Downie, June 20, 1967.

¹⁰⁰Charles Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York: MacMillan, 1921), p. 402. La Pérouse's was the first of many foreign vessels that plied Alta California's ocean. Trade with foreigners was forbidden by the Spanish government, but the colonists ignored restrictions out of necessity and self-interest. The lack of means to enforce the restrictive decrees led the colonists to encourage trade with foreign vessels.

¹⁰¹Donald C. Cutter, *Malaspina in California* (San Francisco: John Howell-Books, 1960), p. 20. La Pérouse presented the picture to Lasuén who hung it in the church. Brambila, an artist who accompanied Malaspina, made two copies. Captain Frederick William Beechey mentioned the picture, which he saw in the church in 1827 when he visited Carmel. He wanted to obtain it but found the priest in charge unwilling to part with it. In 1833, Padre Rafael de Jesus Moreno gave the picture to Juan de la Guerra, who in turn gave it to his sister, Angustias de la Guerra Ord (Mrs. James L. Ord). Somehow, the picture disappeared. Years later Henry Raup Wagner of San Marino, California, found a sketch in the Museo Naval in Spain which he believed to be the original. Wagner presented a photographic reproduction of the sketch to the mission. It was hung in the picture gallery. For a description of the original as given by Mrs. Ord, confer Angustias de la Guerra Ord, *Occurrences in Hispanic California*, trans. and ed. by Francis Price and William H. Ellison (Washington D.C.: Academy of America Franciscan History, 1956), p. 27.

¹⁰²Serra-Noriega Report, July 1, 1784. Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., ed., *Writings of Junípero Serra* (4 vols., Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), IV: 275; interview with Harry Downie, July 10, 1966.

¹⁰³Cutter, *Malaspina in California*, p. v.

¹⁰⁴Artist unknown.

¹⁰⁵Cutter, *Malaspina in California*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰⁶Chapman, *History of California*, pp. 505-507.

¹⁰⁷Interview with Harry Downie, July 23, 1966.

¹⁰⁸Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), III: 177.

¹⁰⁹Interview with Harry Downie, July 23, 1966.

¹¹⁰*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, December 19, 1939. Penciled in on this clipping in the Downie scrapbook is the date of the discovery, December 14, 1939. The Most Rev. Robert Armstrong, then bishop of Sacramento, blessed the new cross July 14, 1940, on the same site as the original. The blessing was during the one hundredth anniversary year of the appointment of California's first bishop, the Most Rev. Francisco García Diego y Moreno.

¹¹¹Interview with Harry Downie, July 23, 1967. Downie worked intermittently in the cemetery. Finally, on May 30, 1937, O'Connell offered an outdoor Mass in the cemetery and blessed the cross. Downie had nothing to follow for his work in the garden in the quadrangle. By 1940, it had been entirely excavated and the pathways had been designated to accommodate future buildings. All stone work that border the flowerbeds are granite boulders from foundations of other buildings uncovered during excavation. The mission fountain, a modification of several that are in existence, is pentagonal. In excavating Downie found a remnant of the water line of the original fountain which began in the courtyard near the church entrance and continued under the padres' quarters.

¹¹²*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, January 12, 1955.

¹¹³In later years materials had to be purchased because Downie already had used all original beams that he found on the property for the padres' quarters.

¹¹⁴Interview with Harry Downie, July 23, 1966.

THE “QUIET REVOLUTION”:

A History of Neighborhood Empowerment in Los Angeles

by Leonard Pitt

Several months after the Los Angeles riot of 1992, I attended a League of Women Voters meeting in a downtown restaurant to discuss charter reform. I sat next to a young attorney and we chatted about a shared interest in Los Angeles history as we listened to the buzz about something called neighborhood councils. The discussion was interesting but seemed idealistic and I was sure that neither charter reform nor neighborhood councils had legs.

To my amazement, in a few short years the voters had approved both concepts. Moreover, the attorney, whose name was Robert Herzberg, was elected to the State Assembly and became speaker of that house. He was instrumental in pushing the idea of boroughs for Los Angeles and in placing the secession referendum on the ballot.

When I began looking into this as a historian I was further astonished to learn that for a good number of years, many Angelenos had felt deep frustration, resentment, and anger toward City Hall government and had sought solutions that were amazingly persistent, bold, and creative—and sometimes, perhaps, a little foolish.

This report is what I have learned about the “quiet revolution,” as neighborhood councils and neighborhood empowerment have been called. What grievances motivated the reformers, what forms of empowerment did they seek, and what accomplishments did they—or did they not—achieve?¹



Looking at the city's history from its incorporation in 1850 to about 1890, one is struck more by instances of neighborhood disempowerment than of empowerment, as exemplified in the area near the Old Plaza, with its cluster of Native American, Mexican, Californio, and Chinese neighborhoods. Most minority residents of the city—and, of course, all women, regardless of race or ethnicity—were literally disenfranchised. In addition, the minority neighborhoods bore the brunt of neglect, racism, and social violence.

The Native Americans were the first to feel the sting. The Tongva Indian village of Yangna (located roughly just south of Olvera St.) had stood in place for possibly more than a thousand years. During the Mexican War the U.S. army commander ordered the entire village moved across the river to end prostitution. Later, officials moved the village again, to the far northern reaches of the county, where it died out.

To the north of the Plaza lay Sonora Town, founded in the 1850s by a wave of Mexicans arriving in the city after being expelled from the gold mines in the northern part of the state. This part of town was the scene of lawlessness and bloody racial conflict in the mid-1850s that was ignited by both bandits and vigilantes.²

Old Chinatown developed in the late 1860s where Union Station now stands. For the most part, city officials regarded much of this neighborhood, with its saloons and houses of prostitution, as a public nuisance. In October 1871 it was the scene of a mob attack that left nineteen Chinese dead, most of them by hanging. To cope with the unsavory reputation of Chinatown, in 1888 the city eradicated the main thoroughfare, known as *Calle de los Negros*.

But the neighborhoods of Anglo blue-collar workers who were able to vote and who could vocalize their demands were also at risk. These were located east of Main St. toward the Los Angeles River, and across the river in Boyle Heights and Lincoln Park. These residential areas stood precisely where railroad tracks, freight yards, factories, and dumping grounds began spreading out beginning in the 1870s.

Irate residents of these neighborhoods appeared repeatedly before the City Council to complain of gas plants discharging industrial waste into the river, factory chimneys belching smoke, railroad trains creating safety hazards, and noxious odors arising from the hog farms where garbage contractors deposited household trash. Residents appealed for redress to the City Council and the city Fire Commission, the agency that issued factory permits. But the local business community questioned whether a problem even existed. One real-estate developer wrote to a local newspaper that "this talk of 'soiling the atmosphere' [is] . . . a lot of nonsense. Such a thing wouldn't happen, but if it

did happen it would be better to soil the atmosphere and be a great metropolis, even if one had to chop one's way through it downtown every day."³

The blue-collar neighborhoods won a few temporary turf battles, but in the end they lost the war to an indifferent, or corrupt, City Council and mayor. These residential neighborhoods gradually disappeared in the next century.⁴



Angelenos first began developing a concept of the neighborhood as a place in need of empowerment from around 1890 to 1910. It started in settlement houses established in the poorest neighborhoods. These institutions originated in Britain and took root in Chicago in the 1890s. In the Windy City a passionate young reformer, Jane Addams, founded Hull House in an immigrant neighborhood. "Social workers," operating within the homes and neighborhoods of the immigrant poor, devoted themselves day and night to improving the physical, economic, and spiritual needs of the residents. This became one of the driving forces of the social movement known in this country as Progressivism.⁵

In 1892, women belonging to the Friday Morning Club, a civic and charitable Los Angeles association, saw the need to improve the living conditions of the Mexican railroad workers in Sonora Town and Boyle Heights. Not knowing how to go about it, they appealed to Jane Addams for help. She came to Los Angeles, and in 1894, in the depths of an economic depression, assisted a group of college women from Los Angeles Normal School to establish the College Settlement in old Sonora Town (today's Chinatown).

Los Angeles social reformers of that era hoped to make Los Angeles into a model city, something far superior to the eastern cities with their corrupt regimes and slum housing. The Rev. Dana Bartlett published a book entitled *The Better City* in which he described his settlement house, the Bethlehem Institute on Vignes St. It was not a case of religious missionaries

going down to the people to lift them up, but rather . . . just "folks," living the simple life of friendship and neighborliness. Their motto is—each for all, and all for each. Grant [them] the spirit of service, and the development is natural . . . two rooms in a tenement may be a settlement. Nor will it be long until about this center neighbors will meet for self-improvement and mutual benefit.⁶

His colleague, the Rev. George Henry Hewes, an avowed Christian Socialist, established a house called, simply, "the Neighborhood Settlement." Besides offering his own social services, he encouraged his flock to agitate for a shorter work week, woman suffrage, social security for the elderly, public

kindergartens, and child care for pre-schoolers. He also ran a "men's club for . . . the overthrow of boss rule, and the purification of politics."⁷ The Catholic Church also opened several settlement houses.

Settlement workers pressed the city government to establish permanent social services, such as a public health nurse, a juvenile court, a sanitation engineer, public baths, playgrounds, and city parks. They also backed the formation of a new housing commission.⁸ As Professor Greg Hise has written,

In response to the perceived anomie and dislocation of the industrial city, social reformers seized on the comprehensive and comprehensible neighborhood as a framework for community. They understood the neighborhood as a fundamental social unit, the scale at which face-to-face relations could be encouraged and maintained.⁹

In all, thirty settlement houses and social centers were established in Los Angeles by 1951.¹⁰ To some observers, the settlement workers' approach has seemed patronizing and naïve. Ironically, the new housing commission merely tore down the dismal shacks with little regard for the Mexican occupants. Nevertheless, the settlements deserve recognition as the pioneers of neighborhood empowerment.

Progressives created at least three other reforms that would have a lasting effect on the local communities of the city. First, in 1906, Los Angeles leaders were eager to annex San Pedro and Wilmington for an outlet to the sea. They courted the harbor voters by promising them the right to form a borough government, which by definition would have an elected board and taxing powers. Three years later city leaders added such a provision to the city charter. The harbor towns voted to consolidate a year later, but when push came to shove, the City Council refused to act on a Wilmington borough petition. In 1917, the State Supreme Court invalidated the Los Angeles city charter provision on a technicality, setting off a long tug-of-war over boroughs.¹¹

Second, in 1909, a victorious reform administration swept into office eager to eradicate the powerful political influence of the Southern Pacific Railroad. To do so, it set out to eliminate partisanship from municipal elections.¹² That is, the city barred candidates for city office from using party affiliations on the ballot, and it scheduled city elections only when partisan elections were not scheduled. This move not only dealt a body blow to party organizations in general, but, equally important, it eliminated the precinct captains, who, in other cities, lived primarily to satisfy constituents and answer neighborhood needs. Vote for our party, said the precinct captain to the voter, and I'll not only install the new electric street lamps, but I'll also bring a gift and dance at your daugh-

ter's wedding. Without the precinct captains, constituents were at the mercy of City Hall officials who might be sitting in an office twenty miles away.

Third, the city passed a pioneer zoning act in 1910. It did create distinct industrial, commercial, and residential zones so as to protect residential neighborhoods. Unfortunately, within the framework of the city zoning ordinance of 1946 that envisioned a city of ten million people, developers would find it easy to manipulate the regulations at the expense of homeowners.¹³



In the period from 1911 to the end of World War II, Los Angeles emerged as a large, centralized, progressive city, but a city with all power focused in City Hall, with none in neighborhoods.

The new city charter adopted in 1925 served as the basic government framework until the year 2000. It vested most power in the City Council and, to a lesser degree, in the mayor. While it gave lip service to boroughs, it totally ignored neighborhoods. In fact, according to Eric Schockman, under the charter, "... neighborhood power bases were systematically dismantled ... to prevent alternative power structures from threatening the fifteen 'council-barons' ...".¹⁴

The stubborn borough advocates from the harbor area had long memories and managed somehow to have a new borough provision inserted into the 1925 charter. It gave annexed areas of at least 4,000 acres and 40,000 residents the right to petition to form a borough. The hitch was that the City Council could—and did—ignore petitions for borough status.

Meanwhile, neighborhood empowerment was emerging from other quarters in the city, outside City Hall. One form of empowerment was the homeowner association, the first of which was the Los Feliz neighborhood organization that closely monitored activities relative to Griffith Park. Besides lobbying City Hall, many of these associations had legal powers conveyed through binding covenants in home deeds to enforce standards of architectural design, landscaping, and, in those early days, racial exclusion. Many people buying tract homes in L.A. from around 1920 to 1954 signed agreements forbidding them from selling to persons of color.¹⁵ This created racial boundary lines, so that, for example, blacks found it extremely difficult to buy property west of Crenshaw Blvd.

Meanwhile, the Chinese and the Mexicans were still having trouble controlling the fate of their neighborhoods. In the 1920s, Los Angeles voters decided to create a union passenger station on the site of Chinatown. The city

uprooted its occupants, sending the residents packing in all directions and assigning the business owners new premises in Sonora Town. In this game of musical neighborhoods, Sonora Town was renamed New Chinatown.

In the same decade the city evicted Mexicans from a barrio on Spring St. to make way for the construction of today's City Hall. During World War II, the Japanese were forced out of Little Tokyo into internment camps. Some of their housing went to African Americans. Some internees returned after the war, but they soon faced the problem of civic expansion, which had significantly reduced the number of apartments available in Little Tokyo.¹⁶

The term "neighborhood councils" first surfaced in Los Angeles in the 1930s. It evidently came from Chicago during the Great Depression. In that city, a college-trained social worker and union activist, Saul Alinsky, was appalled at the dismal living conditions in the immigrant neighborhood adjacent to the odious Chicago stockyards. This site was the very area made famous by Upton Sinclair's best-selling novel, *The Jungle* (1906). Alinsky teamed up with a city park director and several young Catholic priests to help empower the local Polish and Mexican residents. After years of organizing activities, in 1939 they formed the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, the grand-daddy of all neighborhood councils. The organizers brought together poor and illiterate immigrants, and coached them on how to confront government officials and businessmen and present an organized set of demands for neighborhood improvements.¹⁷ In Los Angeles in the 1930s, some of the settlement houses had reconstituted themselves as youth centers, while county government increasingly took over some of their social services. In 1933, the County Probation Department teamed up with a juvenile court judge to create 50 local panels to fight juvenile delinquency. Each local panel included, among others, police officers, probation workers, school officials, welfare workers, health and case-workers, and Catholic and Jewish welfare counselors. In 1936, the *Woman's Home Companion* carried an article describing these local Los Angeles teams, referring to them as "neighborhood councils."¹⁸ This is the earliest printed reference to neighborhood councils that I have found in Los Angeles.



In the post-World War II decade, Los Angeles experienced a vast population boom. Many new families were able to fulfill their dreams for the good life, even as a host of older communities throughout the city experienced dislocation and discrimination.

The distinguished journalist Carey McWilliams, in the October 1949 edition of *Harpers*, wrote, "For the past fifteen years, the city has shown the incompetence of an idiot giant in dealing with its affairs. The story of this vast city's bungling of such problems as traffic, transportation, spoiling of its beaches, the sewage, smog, and related items would make a monumental municipal comedy of errors."

The way the city handled its old, poor or minority neighborhoods in downtown and on the eastside could also be considered as inane. Chavez Ravine, Bunker Hill, and Boyle Heights suffered grievously in the name of "urban renewal." To expedite "slum removal," make way for new commercial development, and construct a vast freeway network, the city permitted some 50,000 housing units to be torn down from 1933 to 1980 in the name of "progress."¹⁹

Mayor Fletcher Bowron was the first American mayor to apply for, and win, federal funds under the National Housing Act of 1949. He obtained a grant of \$100 million and hired the distinguished architect Richard Neutra to build apartment towers and two-story buildings in Chavez Ravine. The project was supposed to house 10,000 tenants on a mile-square site.²⁰ Bowron insisted that the federal funds be used for racially integrated housing as well as for replacement housing for the poor. Amid the growing Cold War atmosphere, the building industry raised the hue-and-cry about "creeping socialism" and "the menace of Communism." A leading city housing official, Frank Wilkinson, was sent to federal prison for refusing to cooperate in a political witch hunt. The City Council killed the Chavez Ravine housing project, and the mayor lost his bid for reelection. Henceforth, Los Angeles would make few commitments for low-income housing.²¹

Meanwhile, the Brooklyn Dodgers relocated to Chavez Ravine.²² In spite of the feeble resistance from a few old-time neighborhood residents, the new and much-heralded Dodger Stadium opened on the site in 1962.

It was only a matter of time before the Alinsky strategy of organizing in Catholic-based, working-class immigrant communities would find its way into the *barrios* of Los Angeles. Amid the bruising battles over urban renewal, housing discrimination, school segregation, and police abuse in Eastside Mexican neighborhoods, Alinsky protégés Fred Ross and Tony Rios formed the Community Service Organization (CSO). Instead of launching a neighborhood council, however, they made it their main task to elect a Chicano to the Los Angeles City Council. In this they had singular success in 1949 by launching the career of Edward Roybal, who became the first Latino to sit on the City Council since the previous century, and who later went on to carve out a dis-

tinguished congressional career. Roybal became the point man for various local battles, including the resistance to the freeways. Despite his best efforts, though, major arteries sliced up vital parts of Boyle Heights. Architectural historians David Gebhard and Robert Winter describe the Golden State Freeway as "the worst and most unbelievably thoughtless" freeway project of all.²³

The old neighborhood of Bunker Hill, established in the 1860s, had fallen on hard times a century later. It was totally eradicated when the Community Redevelopment Agency evicted the occupants, mostly older and white residents, and bulldozed the Victorian houses.²⁴ This classic disregard for both the residents and the architecture was cited by Jane Jacobs in her influential commentary, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.²⁵ The Bunker Hill disaster had one positive effect. It sparked the formation of a citywide movement for historic preservation, which would later come to the rescue of old neighborhoods. West of the Harbor Freeway, the Temple-Beaudry community had teemed with Mexican families in the 1930s and 1940s. It too was virtually razed, although the plans for new construction never materialized fully.

On Bunker Hill and elsewhere, urban renewal would eventually produce a glistening new downtown skyline with impressive skyscrapers and fine cultural attractions. But downtown, with a few exceptions, never attracted enough housing to restore it as an important residential area. Today's downtown leaders are still attempting to undo the damage of the past by attracting 100,000 new residents.

There was enough discontent brewing in the outlying neighborhoods of L.A. during the next three decades to hear repeated outcries for secession and borough reform, two ideas that seem to have a symbiotic relationship.

Talk of secession arose in the San Fernando Valley in the 1940s and 1950s when the city failed to act promptly on matters relating to zoning, parking, traffic, high taxes, and the construction of public facilities. In those days, the Valley was seriously underrepresented in the City Council. Mayor Bowron responded by proposing to divide the city into five boroughs—San Fernando, Hollywood, West Los Angeles, Central, and Harbor. He had an ally in Vincent Thomas, an influential assemblyman from San Pedro.

The sentiment for secession arose also in Westwood in the 1960s. Irate homeowners were having trouble fending off powerful developers intent on building high-rise apartments in their low-rise neighborhoods. In Pacific Palisades, homeowners proposed the same secession remedy as an answer to the inadequate level of police protection. In 1964, a City Council committee recommended a charter amendment to permit the establishment of boroughs. The full Council let it die, and the idea again fell dormant.²⁶

The twenty years from 1965 to 1985 brought astonishing advances in neighborhood empowerment. One change occurred when President Lyndon Johnson initiated the War on Poverty in 1965. Cities applying for federal funds were required to pledge that they would allow the "maximum feasible participation of the poor in their own affairs." This was a major advance in the concept of empowerment—but it met with stiff resistance.²⁷ In Los Angeles, for example, Mayor Sam Yorty regarded it as a ploy for radical African-American empowerment and staunchly refused to accept the federal funds. His refusal helped precipitate the Watts riot/rebellion.

Nevertheless, a year after the Watts disturbance, Yorty appointed a charter reform commission that supported neighborhood empowerment. This commission was chaired by Henry Reining, Jr., dean of University of Southern California's von KleinSmid Center of International and Public Affairs. It studied the extensive literature regarding the ongoing nationwide "urban crisis" and sought to learn why Angelenos felt so distant from their government as well as how to close the gap. They found that, while City Hall functionaries assumed that the government worked reasonably well, many constituents—especially those of minority racial background—felt otherwise.²⁸

Although the Reining team viewed the borough option favorably, it gave even stronger endorsement to establishing new neighborhood associations governed by elected boards. It also proposed establishing a new category of city official, a "neighborman." The corps neighborhoodmen would serve as latter-day precinct captains, working as liaisons between citizens and City Hall.²⁹ Unfortunately, the Reining commission created a storm of opposition in City Hall by suggesting that the powerfully connected Department of Water and Power relinquish some of its financial independence. It also made the fatal error of laboring behind closed doors for two years before issuing its report. The commission never gained credibility among the voters, who rejected the charter proposals not once but twice. This prescient document then disappeared from public consciousness for the next thirty years.

When Yorty felt less threatened by black power, he created, on paper at least, an elaborate plan for mayoral advisory councils. These were said to be ethnically balanced community advisory committees—one for each council district—to insure "a new and positive force for utilizing citizen participation in the decision-making process of city government."³⁰ Soon, individual City Council members followed suit with their own advisory groups, as did several city commissions and city agencies.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the quality of municipal services declined further and the number of citizen complaints increased. When Proposition 13 reduced local revenues, the city curtailed services. Constituents flooded City Hall with complaints about potholes, trash collection, broken sidewalks, abandoned cars, slow police response time, police misconduct, and drug trafficking. The Council intervened more and more in individual cases, until it virtually administered the basic city services.

At that time the growth machine was riding high. Developers never met a canyon they could not fill, nor a commercial corner that could not benefit from a mini-mall, nor a boulevard that would not profit from a high-rise. They rarely met a City Council member or county supervisor whom they could not buy. When Planning Director Calvin Hamilton drafted a new master plan for the city, his department informally polled 50,000 Angelenos about their hopes and fears for the future. The overwhelming majority expressed fears about "the preservation of the single-family neighborhood."³¹

Nevertheless, developers and lobbyists increased their clout in City Hall. The City Council seemed more autocratic than ever and the tone of public discourse at Council meetings got nastier. (Added to this was the city-wide acrimony over public school integration.)

There was, however, in that era a nationwide upsurge of democracy that one scholar has called "the new populism of the 1970s."³² What stands out in L.A. in the 1970s and early 1980s is the increasing effectiveness of community-based associations in organizing themselves to exploit new environmental and preservation laws and to demand the enforcement of existing zoning and planning regulations.

Grassroots activity—involving homeowners associations, civic clubs, chambers of commerce, environmental organizations, tenant groups, and other associations—arose throughout the city. Some of these groups achieved notable victories:

- In the Santa Monica mountains, the Hillside Federation, representing scores of homeowner organizations and thousands of residents, went to court and forced the city to obey the provisions of the existing city plan and zoning laws, and to cease bowing repeatedly to the demands of land developers looking for exceptions. It won a major court decision forcing the city to revamp its entire handling of zoning and planning matters.
- In Carthay Circle, residents were able to utilize historic preservation regulations to protect their old Spanish-Revival homes.

- In the Pacific Palisades, homeowners, tenants, and business owners coalesced to form the Pacific Palisades Community Council to cope with police protection issues. Many of the same people later conducted a successful legal battle to stop Occidental Petroleum from drilling in Temescal Canyon.³³
- In Central Los Angeles, block clubs originally formed for socializing began confronting myriad issues, from trash collection to liquor store regulation to controlling drug sales.
- In widely dispersed communities, the Los Angeles Police Department's Neighborhood Watch network encouraged local leaders to work with police officers from each station house to control crime. This became the most successful community-based activity ever mounted by the department.
- On the east side, Latino women took a leaf from Alinsky's book and organized a successful campaign to stop the State of California from building yet another prison in their midst. They then regrouped, and with the help of University of California, Los Angeles, scientists stopped the city from building a high-tech trash furnace downtown. Considering the long list of community defeats experienced by Latinos, this was an epochal victory.³⁴
- In the west San Fernando Valley, business leaders invited the entire City Council to visit their part of town and see with their own eyes some of the perplexing development problems concerning roads, parks, water, and energy. The Council agreed to make the trip, but never arrived. This sparked deep anger and stoked a campaign for secession that would not quit.
- In the mid-Wilshire area, the Miracle Mile Civic Coalition brought together what was then a rare alliance of homeowners and apartment dwellers to stop a powerfully connected developer from overdeveloping the Miracle Mile.

Architect Bill Christopher, a co-founder of this mid-Wilshire coalition, was subsequently appointed to a blue-ribbon committee created by the Planning Commission to democratize the planning process. He believed that the time had come to push for a new reform—citywide neighborhood councils. In 1986, he and his committee penned a report proposing that the city appoint thirty-five advisory councils, one for each planning district. The Planning Commission rejected his proposal, but for him and others, this was the begin-

ning of the "quiet revolution" in favor of neighborhood empowerment.³⁵ Christopher was subsequently appointed chairman of the Board of Neighborhood Commissioners.



After 1985, when the devotees of neighborhood councils met in coffee klatches, they assumed it would take fifty years for their dream to materialize. They could never have imagined that in a few short years a new charter would establish citywide elected councils with the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment (DONE) to oversee them. How did it come about so quickly?

It began when the Planning Commission rejected neighborhood councils and the momentum moved to the grassroots. The coalition known as PLAN L.A. (People for Livable and Active Neighborhoods in Los Angeles) issued a concept paper with a sophisticated proposal for citywide neighborhood associations.³⁶ Another organization, the Neighborhood Councils Movement, reached out to various communities throughout the city. In May 1993, it held a general meeting at Rosemont Avenue School in the Rampart district that influenced the mayoral election.³⁷

At the same time, in the aftermath of the 1992 riots, Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas created his Eighth District Empowerment Congress to serve as an advisory conclave of local leaders. He gave them leave to deal directly with city agencies to fix the chronic problems of poor neighborhoods in his district. Some people scoffed that it was merely the councilman's "fan club," but it produced notable successes.³⁸

Meanwhile, Councilman Joel Wachs' chief deputy, Greg Nelson, became interested in neighborhood councils. He had discovered an ongoing study of such councils in the cities of St. Paul, Portland, Dayton, Birmingham, and San Antonio. A team of Tufts University scholars working with a Ford Foundation grant was finishing a report entitled *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy*.³⁹ It indicated that neighborhood councils decreased community conflicts, smoothed the functioning of city government, taught participants how government worked, and helped them achieve meaningful goals.⁴⁰ While the number of activists on any given council was usually small, the councils did nurture face-to-face participation. These councils had earned an excellent reputation among average city residents, and, most surprisingly, had won the respect and cooperation of city officials.

The book identified the crucial elements necessary for success:

- *First*, a city had to make a strong and fundamental political commitment to neighborhood councils, and not just voice a vague declaration of admiration;
- *Second*, a city had to seek actively community input on budgetary matters;
- *Third*, city officials had to provide neighborhood leaders with early notification of pertinent city meetings; and,
- *Fourth*, each council had to embrace all stakeholders—that is, everyone who lived, worked or owned property—not merely the organized homeowners—in a given neighborhood.⁴¹

Of course, Los Angeles was not a small town like Dayton. It had a powerful and entrenched City Council, and a huge and ethnically diverse population. There were no guarantees that smaller models could be imposed here. But local reformers thought they could meet the basic conditions.

Three factors drove the reform at this point:

First was the broad consensus, even among City Hall pros, that the City Council had lost touch with its constituents. Each of the fifteen members represented a staggering 250,000 people. Some City Hall watchers decried the “pit bull, junkyard-dog mentality” that characterized council meetings.⁴² Los Angeles was by now world-famous for its lack of civic engagement. According to *The Economist*, a leading British journal, “The biggest reason for LA’s continuing lack of civic pride is the sheer sprawl of the place. Angelenos tend to be intensely loyal to their own neighbourhoods but indifferent to the surrounding megalopolis.”⁴³

The *second* driving force was secession. The real and growing threat of secession in the Valley, and perhaps in the harbor and elsewhere, helped spur the drive for city-sponsored neighborhood councils.

The *third* main issue was Richard Riordan’s yearning to increase the mayor’s power vis-à-vis the City Council and city department heads. In the fall of 1997, Mayor Riordan initiated the election of a charter reform commission (headed by USC law professor Erwin Chemerinsky). The City Council then appointed its own second commission (headed by prominent attorney George Kieffer). This body hired Professor Raphael Sonenshein, a California State University, Fullerton, political scientist, as executive secretary. A scholar with a strong historical bent, Sonenshein hoped to avoid a repeat of the explosive empowerment elections he had seen in the 1960s in Newark, New Jersey.

He also hoped to build upon the excellent proposals of the 1969 Reining Commission, while avoiding its fatal error of working in the shadows for years before going public.⁴⁴

Initially, business, real-estate developers, and even organized labor expressed strong reservations about the feasibility of neighborhood councils. State Librarian Kevin Starr wrote this colorful denunciation: “. . . [T]he activists, ever itchy for their own advancement, postulate the *meshuga* notion of governing the city through a network of locally elected soviets in a *Walpurgisnacht* parody of local governance.”⁴⁵

The Valley Vote organization pressed for outright secession as the best solution to the Valley’s problems. It argued that neighborhood council members lacked the vote and therefore would be paper tigers. Supporters countered that City Hall lobbyists also lacked the vote but managed to maintain a powerful grip over City Council members, suggesting that the advisory councils could be an equally effective lobbying force.⁴⁶ Furthermore, they added, when the local associations learned to work together in concert they could double their effectiveness.⁴⁷ These arguments fell on deaf ears and the secession campaign later culminated in a citywide referendum.

The two reform commissions held open meetings throughout the city to gather local input. In the end they crafted a unified charter provision establishing citywide neighborhood councils with advisory powers and elected board members, as well as a new city agency, the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment, whose sole mission was to support and encourage the local councils. The reformers also considered boroughs, but the issue was raised too late to gain serious consideration.⁴⁸

One other important restructuring largely escaped public notice. The reformers proposed that the charter establish five regional planning commissions. These appointed bodies would have the power to decide land development cases at the local level. In June 1999, the electorate approved the new charter, with neighborhood empowerment as the centerpiece, by an overwhelming 60 percent vote.⁴⁹

For the next several months, the Board of Neighborhood Commissioners, along with the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment, conducted additional hearings on a specific work plan. It was finally in a position to start certifying neighborhood councils.⁵⁰



What I have been trying to show in this brief historical narrative is that neighborhood empowerment has had a long and troublesome history in Los

Angeles. It grew in response to genuine problems and has manifested itself in many guises over the past century. In fact it is almost pointless to try to single out the "true authors" of neighborhood empowerment. It has had many fathers, many mothers, and even a few midwives.⁵¹

At this writing (April 2003) the future of the neighborhood councils appears bright. The Department of Neighborhood Empowerment has an excellent leader in General Manager Greg Nelson, a California State University, Northridge, graduate in Urban Studies. It has certified sixty-six councils and aims to qualify forty-four more by the year 2004. It has allowed neighborhoods to set their own geographical boundaries, create their own agendas, and elect their own officers. And it has certified only councils that have diligently included all stakeholders. City officials are working on a system of early notification via the Internet. Meanwhile, the City Council has promised a \$50,000 cash grant to each neighborhood council for administrative purposes.

Professors Terry L. Cooper and Juliet Musso of USC, after reviewing the literature on urban democracy in America, concluded that the Los Angeles charter of 1999 "marks the beginning of what is arguably the grandest experiment in neighborhood self-government ever undertaken."⁵² Considering the city's enormous geographic spread and demographic diversity, one must agree with them.

To ensure success, neighborhood councils must develop strong leadership and learn to collaborate with one another on major issues. Yet another step in the progression of neighborhood empowerment will be the creation of a congress comprised of delegates from neighborhood councils to convene and debate issues of broad, citywide concern. Such a congress was mandated in the charter.⁵³

While neighborhood associations won't solve all problems, they could significantly improve the delivery of public services. Bill Christopher has a litmus test. A few years ago, he says, there were only 200 people in the city who could pick up a phone and get something done in City Hall. Soon there will be 2,000 or so elected board members who could do the same, and that would be a major achievement.⁵⁴

A year from now pollsters will greet shoppers at the supermarket and ask, Has your neighborhood council repaired anything that was broken? Has it resolved any conflicts? Is its membership inclusive and welcoming? Is it helping you understand how city government works? The results of the poll will be telling.

There is every reason to think that neighborhood councils are here to

stay; and that they could have a thirty-year lifespan before being superceded. Few things last longer than thirty years in Los Angeles.

If I were to speculate on the future, my hunch would be that boroughs will be the next step. I read that Robert Hertzberg (among others) is working on such a plan. Boroughs, with their taxing power, can be useful for addressing large issues such as economic development in depressed areas and smart growth. A possible scenario might be that, in a few years, reformers will introduce a charter amendment to convert the five appointed regional planning commissions into five elective bodies. A year or two after that, they may introduce another amendment giving these bodies taxing powers and changing their name to boroughs.⁵⁵

In the movie *Annie Hall*, Woody Allen declares that the greatest thing about Los Angeles is that you can make a right turn on a red signal. Well, we have a few significant features he missed. We may yet even have boroughs one day—who knows?

NOTES

¹I use the term "neighborhood" more or less interchangeably with "community," although the former generally refers to something smaller than the latter. The word "empowerment" connotes acquiring authority, or legal power, and the resources necessary to bring about improvement. See *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1992), and Editors of American Heritage Dictionaries, *Roget's II: The New Thesaurus* (3rd ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1995).

²Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1968), Chap. IX, "Race War in Los Angeles."

³*Los Angeles Express*, October 7, 1905, quoted in a memo to me from Daniel Johnson, Ph.D., August 19, 2000.

⁴In a sample of the census of 1900, more than half of the population worked at blue-collar trades in Ward No. 1 (northeastern L.A. in Lincoln Park, etc.); Ward No. 2 (west of Main St. and north of 1st St. in Echo Park, etc.); Ward No. 7 (between Main St. and the river and 1st and 9th Sts.); Ward No. 8 (at the Plaza and in today's Chinatown), and Ward No. 9 (east of the river and Boyle Heights, etc.). Daniel Johnson to author, February 3, 2003.

⁵An address by Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements, 1892," in Christopher Lasch, ed., *The Social Thought of Jane Addams* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1965), 28-43; and Elisabeth R. Frank and Alice Collins, *Settlements and Centers: Their History, Self-Study and Development* (Los Angeles: Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, June 1954).

⁶Dana W. Bartlett, *The Better City: A Sociological Study of a Modern City* (Los Angeles: The Neuner Company Press, 1907).

⁷Virginia Elwood-Akers, "George Henry Hewes and The Neighborhood Settlement in Los Angeles," *Southern California Quarterly* 83 (Winter 2001): 377-398. See also Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), who would probably regard this as "creating social capital."

⁸Michael Engh, S.J., "Meeting the Needs of Our Time: Builders of the Humane City in Los Angeles, 1900-1950," *The George A.V. Dunning Lecture* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 2001), 2-6.

⁹Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), "The Neighborhood Unit," 30-35. Bartlett, a proponent of the City Beautiful movement, was the first to propose cleaning up the areas near the Los Angeles River. See Blake Gumprecht, *The Los Angeles River: Its Life, Death, and Possible Rebirth* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1999), 116-117.

¹⁰Six settlements and centers associated with the Catholic Welfare Bureau were established from 1922 to 1945, in Watts, Glendale, Torrance, San Fernando, and Pacoima. Frank and Collins, *Settlements and Centers*, 4-5.

¹¹*A. J. Crose v. City Council of the City of Los Angeles*. 175 Cal. 774, 1917.

- ¹²Steven P. Erie, "How the Urban West Was Won: The Local State and Economic Growth in Los Angeles, 1880-1932," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 27 (June 1992): 534.
- ¹³William Fulton, *The Reluctant Metropolis* (Point Arena, Calif.: Solano Press Books, 1997), 49.
- ¹⁴H. Eric Schockman, "Is Los Angeles Governable? Revisiting the City Charter," in Michael J. Dear, H. Eric Schockman, and Greg Hise, eds., *Rethinking Los Angeles* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1996), 58.
- ¹⁵See commemorative pamphlet, Los Feliz Improvement Association, *Anniversary . . . 1916-1991* (n.p., 1991), 18.
- ¹⁶Of course, some communities, such as the Italian community near the Old Plaza, disappeared owing to demographic changes rather than government pressure. Conference on the "Disappearance of Ethnic Minorities from City Center," September 25, 1999, with presentations by Ronald Lopez, Chester King, Gloria Lothrop, Sue Embry, Chi Mui, and Susan Nelson.
- ¹⁷See Robert Slayton, *Back of the Yards: The Making of a Local Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Saul D. Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945); Mary S. Pardo, *Mexican American Women Activists: Identity and Resistance in Two Los Angeles Communities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 27, citing Margaret Rose, "Gender and Civic Activism in Mexican-American Barrios in California: The Community Service Organization, 1947-1962," in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994). Ross is said to have taught Cesar Chávez the art of organizing. See Don Normark, *Chávez Ravine, 1949: A Los Angeles Story* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1999), 53, and interview with Greg Nelson, May 12, 2000.
- ¹⁸Katherine Glover, "Stopping Crime at Its Source: The Neighborhood Councils of Los Angeles," *Woman's Home Companion* (September 1936): 28 ff.
- ¹⁹Norman M. Klein, *The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory* (London: Verso, 1997), 123-132.
- ²⁰Bowron lost his re-election bid to Norris Poulson largely because he continued to support Wilkinson.
- ²¹Actually, the ravine had three separate neighborhoods: La Loma, Bishop, and Palo Verde. City officials complained of misaligned streets, substandard houses, poor sanitation, juvenile delinquency, and a high tuberculosis rate in Chávez Ravine.
- ²²After a protracted political struggle that resulted in a referendum, the voters backed the plan for the new ball park. *Los Angeles Times*, "Southern California Living," October 22, 1999. See Normark, *Chavez Ravine, 1949*.
- ²³Rodolfo F. Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (3rd ed., New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 285-299; David Gebhard and Robert Winter, *Los Angeles: An Architectural Guide* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith, 1994), 257.
- ²⁴*Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1984.
- ²⁵Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).
- ²⁶Henry Reining, Jr., et al., *City Government for the Future: Report of the Los Angeles City Charter Commission* (Los Angeles: n.p., July, 1969), 24; see also Los Angeles City Attorney's Opinion to the Charter and Administrative Code Committee of the Los Angeles City Council, December 24, 1964.
- ²⁷George Frederickson, ed., *Neighborhood Control in the 1970s: Politics, Administration, and Citizen Participation* (New York: Chandler Publishing Co., 1973), vii; Daniel P. Moynihan skewered the concept in a book entitled *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty* (New York: Free Press, 1969).
- ²⁸Reining, et al., *City Government for the Future*, 28-29.
- ²⁹*Ibid.*, 21-27.
- ³⁰Friends of Mayor Sam Yorty, *The Yorty Years: The Story of Sam Yorty's Leadership as Mayor of Los Angeles since 1961* (Los Angeles: Friends of Mayor Sam Yorty, 1968), 10.
- ³¹Los Angeles City Planning Department, *Centers Overview Report* (Los Angeles, 1983), 4; Fulton, *The Reluctant Metropolis*, 48-49.
- ³²Among the best historical overviews of neighborhood movements in the U.S. in the last century are: Sidney Dillick, *Community Organization for Neighborhood Development-Past and Present* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1953); Howard W. Hallman, "The Neighborhood as an Organizational Unit: A Historical Perspective," in Frederickson, ed., *Neighborhood Control in the 1970s*, 5-16, and Robert Fisher, *Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984). Among other valuable urban commentaries are Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities*; Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: Free Press, 1962); Suzanne Keller, *The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective* (New York: Random House, 1968), and Matthew A. Crenson, *Neighborhood Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).
- ³³Malcolm J. Abzug, *Palisades Oil: A Community Battles over Oil Drilling* (Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Pine Hill Press, Inc., 1991). A two-decade struggle against Occidental and Chevron and their lease holders culminated in November 1988 when the voters approved Proposition "O" to end oil drilling.
- ³⁴Serious empowerment advocates were well acquainted with Alinsky's writings, such as *Rules for Radicals: A Prac-*

- tical Primer for Realistic Radicals (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), cited in Councilman Joel Wachs' "Grass-Roots Guide to Forming Neighborhood Councils" (Los Angeles: City of Los Angeles, October 15, 1999), [14].
- ³⁵Columnist Sam Hall Kaplan, "Hope for Local Planning Boards," in *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1986; interview with Bill Christopher, January 30, 2003.
- ³⁶Plan L.A., "Policy on Charter Reform," a flier, March 20, 1993. The coalition had representation from Brentwood, East Los Angeles, San Pedro, the Santa Monica Mountains, San Fernando Valley, South Central, Wilshire, and the Westside.
- ³⁷NCM Newsletter and Calendar (May 1993); flier advertising "General Meeting of Neighborhood Councils Movement." Interview with Fred Dewey, co-founder of the Neighborhood Councils Movement, August 26, 2002.
- ³⁸Former Massachusetts Governor Michael S. Dukakis, an invited speaker at the first meeting, paid the audience a high compliment for starting something reminiscent of a New England town meeting. Dukakis to author, October 15, 2000; interview with Greg Nelson, June 30, 2000.
- ³⁹Jeffrey M. Berry, Kent E. Portnoy, and Ken Thomson, *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1993). The authors were Tufts University scholars.
- ⁴⁰Berry, et al., *Rebirth*, 286, 290-298.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*, 295. Stakeholder categories acceptable to DONE were: faith-based institutions, political lobbying groups, labor unions, homeowners association, non-profit social service providers, educational institutions, immigrant advocate groups, senior groups, women's groups, block clubs, lesbian and gay groups, etc. See DONE pamphlet, "Your Voice, Your Neighborhood, Your City (Los Angeles: DONE [December 14, 2000]).
- ⁴²*Los Angeles Times*, February 23, 1998, quoting attorney Connie Rice.
- ⁴³"Los Angeles: The Sum of Its Parts?" *The Economist*, July 12, 1997. Civic participation at the municipal level seemed to sink to an all-time low in 1989, when only 23 percent of eligible voters turned out for a mayoral election.
- ⁴⁴Interview with Raphael J. Sonenshein, August 28, 2002. See also his essay, "Gotham on Our Minds: New York City in the Los Angeles Charter Reform of 1996-1999," in David Halle, ed., *New York and Los Angeles: Politics, Society and Culture, A Comparative View* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- ⁴⁵*Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1998, quoted in Jim Bickhart, "Taking It to the Streets: The Debate Over Neighborhood Governance in Los Angeles," Occasional Paper No. 2 (Los Angeles: Center for Government & Policy Analysis, 1998), 5.
- ⁴⁶Nelson predicted that land developers might now feel compelled to seek the approval of neighborhood councils before going to the zoning or planning commissions. Interview with Greg Nelson, General Manager of DONE, August 12, 2002.
- ⁴⁷*Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 2001.
- ⁴⁸The charter also established a Board of Neighborhood Commissioners (BONC) to oversee policy, including certification, the approval of contracts, and enforcement of basic rules and regulations. In addition, the charter proposal asked voters to approve a provision enlarging the size of the City Council from its current 15 members to 21 or 25 members. (The 15-member body was created in 1878, when the population was 10,000; Chicago, by contrast, with a million fewer people than Los Angeles, has 50 councilmembers. *Los Angeles Times*, October 20, 2002.) The electorate rejected both alternative proposals.
- ⁴⁹See City of Los Angeles, *Charter of the City of Los Angeles* (Cincinnati: American Legal Publishing Corp., 2002), Article IX.
- ⁵⁰Support for neighborhood councils gradually increased. See, for example, USC, *Creating Neighborhood Councils*, 11, quoting opinion favorable to neighborhood councils by Les Himes of the Chatsworth Chamber of Commerce; Jo Young, leader of the 73rd Street Block Club in Central Los Angeles; Tisha Bedrosian of the Rose Avenue Working Group in Venice; and Fran Reichenbach of Brentwood Canyon Neighborhood Association and Hollywood Neighborhood Councils. See, also, DONE, "Plan for a Citywide System of Neighborhood Councils" (Los Angeles: DONE, approved May 30, 2001 and amended November 8, 2002).
- ⁵¹Interview with Bill Christopher, January 30, 2003.
- ⁵²USC, *Creating Neighborhood Councils*, 5. I am indebted to Prof. Musso for allowing me to review the draft of an unpublished paper on neighborhood empowerment.
- ⁵³Councils began collaborating early in 2003 in opposition to a new policy announced by Police Chief William J. Bratton to curtail drastically police response to private burglar alarms. A deliberative congress was mandated in the 1999 charter out of a need expressed by Erwin Chemerinsky and others to establish machinery to deal with thorny NIMBY (not-in-my-back-yard) issues, such as the location of trash dumps and of housing for the mentally ill.
- ⁵⁴Interview with Bill Christopher, January 30, 2003.
- ⁵⁵On the future of boroughs, see *Los Angeles Times*, February 28, 2003.

Book Reviews

AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN CONFRONT THE WEST, 1600–2000. Edited by Quintard Taylor and Shirley Ann Wilson Moore. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. 352 pp. \$34.95.) Reviewed by Willi Coleman.

In just under 400 pages, Quintard Taylor and Shirley Ann Wilson Moore have answered a clarion call. The first book-length treatment of its kind, *African American Women Confront the West: 1600–2000* both describes the expansive geographical terrain and challenges the limited conceptual frameworks that shape the myth and the reality of the American West. The title alone brings Black women, willing and unwilling, into the picture as occupants of land and history. As a result, western frontier societies can never again be rationally imagined as solely male space or void of women of color.

This collection of essays, each accessibly written and well documented, reflects the work of both seasoned scholars and more recent entrants to the field. Their combined efforts work together to create a text that intersects the interests of various disciplines. With the use of primary documents and vignettes, in sixteen chapters and two opening essays, the authors introduce the lives of ordinary and extraordinary women. In such disparate locations and times as seventeenth-century Mexico, early nineteenth-century Montana, and twentieth-century Oklahoma, these women were neither invisible nor acquiescent. This text illustrates their determination to survive and thrive in developing frontier societies, giving new shades of meaning to constructs of race, gender and class.

While the women in this volume may be exceptional, in that it was possible for researchers to mine public records and private writings for evidence of their existence, this is not the history of a privileged few. We are, in the words of the authors, presented with “a more complex discussion of environmental change, economic manipulation, social inequality, labor conflict, and urban expansion.” Seen through the lives of women who are Black, this broad canvas reveals old themes and new battles unfolding across frontier societies.

The opening essay sets the pace with the use of an affidavit dated January 8, 1600, and addressed to Spanish authorities in Mexico by Isabel de Olvera, a woman of African and Indian descent. Olvera requested the legal protection that was the rightful due of all free women. In preparation for an expedition to New Mexico, Olvera expressed a “reason to fear that I may be annoyed by some individual since I am a mulatto.” By the end of the seventeenth century, thousands of Afrohispanas and other women of African descent could be found throughout the Spanish frontier of North America. During the eighteenth century they continued to spread northward, becoming a visible presence in current-day Texas and California.

Subsequent essays unfold to introduce slaves, servants and free women who staked their own racially gendered claim to life, liberty and more. Indeed, by the middle of the nineteenth century, as individuals and through their own organizations, they were demanding not only unfettered access to public space here on earth, but in the afterlife as well. In Utah, Jane Eliz-

abeth Manning James exemplified the spirit of a pioneer in a clash with the Church of Latter-day Saints throughout her adult life. After becoming a member of the faith in 1842, Jane Elizabeth traveled from Connecticut to Illinois before settling in Salt Lake Valley, Utah. In addition to the struggle for survival in a settler society, she battled until her death for the full rights and privileges granted to white Mormons. As she aged, her concerns increasingly centered on specific rights that would impact her and her family in the afterlife. Unto her death, James continued to balance adherence to the beliefs of her chosen faith along with a refusal to accept doctrines defining Blacks as lesser Mormons cursed by God.

With essays continuing into the twentieth century, we are introduced to Black women's self-help and civil rights organizations throughout the Pacific Northwest. Representing a small percentage of the population in Colorado, Oregon and California, they took in washing and ironing and built churches. They could also be found in Washington State selling "colored dolls" in order to gather the funds needed to participate in the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909. Along with African Americans in other regions of the country, Black women ran newspapers, and joined the Marcus Garvey Movement and the NAACP. In Montana and Idaho, their organizations provided scholarship funds for college-bound young women.

Refusing to be isolated by race prejudice, they took advantage of opportunities to collaborate with progressive white women. While supporting Black males in their activities, because men were deemed the appropriate public representatives for the race at the time, Black women also resisted gender conventions of the period. By 1958, Oklahoma had an established acceptance of Black female involvement in local race politics. They were in the forefront of a percolating "sit-in" movement more conventionally associated with the South. Two years before the well-known Greensboro lunch counter sit-in movement of 1960, Clara Luper, an Oklahoma native, directed a small band of children in a similar act. Luper and members of a youth branch of the NAACP were subjected to similar resistance and violence.

Winding its way from a lone woman on the Spanish frontier to farm women selling vegetables to Chinese miners in 1890s Montana, *African American Women Confront The West* ends with an exploration of gender issues in the Black Panther Party in 1960s California. In this jewel of a book, each essay uncovers another rich layer signaling a turning point and raising new questions for historians of the American West.

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RACE AND HOMICIDE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CALIFORNIA. By Clare V. McKanna, Jr. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2002. 168 pp. \$29.95.) Reviewed by Donna C. Schuele.

In *Race and Homicide in Nineteenth-Century California*, Clare V. McKanna, Jr., presents a socio-legal study of the intersection of race and killing during the first fifty years of statehood. A grant from the Law and Social Sciences Division of the National Science Foundation allowed McKanna to delve into a variety of state- and county-level records to create four case studies focusing on homicides committed by Indians, Chinese, Hispanics and whites, with a secondary emphasis on the race of the victim. In presenting his findings, McKanna weaves anecdotal evidence of higher-profile killings gleaned from narrative sources with statistical data culled from public records.

McKanna has previously published widely on the history of homicide in the American West, focusing especially on the effects of alcohol and of racial mixing. In doing so, he has also participated in the long-standing debate over whether the American western frontier was more violent than other regions of the United States. His purpose with this book is to demonstrate "that there were two standards of justice [in early statehood California], one for whites and another for minorities" (p. 2). In addition, McKanna employs his homicide data to reconsider his position on the violence question.

McKanna chose seven counties from around the state to include in his sample: Calaveras, Sacramento, San Diego, San Luis Obispo, San Joaquin, Santa Barbara and Tuolumne. These counties represent areas of relatively high populations of a particular race or ethnicity (San Diego for Indians, Sacramento and San Joaquin for Chinese, San Luis Obispo and Santa Barbara for Hispanics) and/or were sites of dynamic population change during early statehood. Within each county, McKanna's sample size was 100% of the homicides recorded between 1850 and 1890.

To gather information on homicides, McKanna cast his net widely, employing coroners' inquest reports, criminal case files, trial courts' registers of criminal action, prison inmate registers and applications for pardons. He recorded a total of 1,317 homicides and has made his data sets available through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan.

McKanna's case studies reveal differing outcomes among the four groups studied. When indictments were filed, Indian defendants escaped conviction through dismissal of the charges or not guilty findings only 20% of the time. In a slim majority of the cases, Indian killings were intraracial, but a sizeable minority (nearly 37%) of the victims were white. For the Chinese, on the other hand, the vast majority of the killings were intraracial (over 93%), with white victims accounting for the remainder. Here, only 40% of indictments led to a guilty verdict. With Hispanics, 59% of killings were intraracial, but again a sizeable minority (27%) of the victims were white. Nearly half of the indictments in this group, 46%, resulted in dismissal or not guilty verdicts. When the killer was white, 80% of homicides were intraracial, with killings of Hispanics accounting for the next largest amount, about 13%. Upon indictment, whites were able to escape a guilty verdict 56% of the time.

Notwithstanding that McKanna has presented this work mostly in the vein of socio-legal scholarship, he is at his best (and appears to enjoy himself most) when he engages in narrative history. His detective-style analysis of detail and his storytelling talents bring the individual cases to life. There is a certain sense of “whodunit” in the discussion of those homicides where the official evidence just doesn’t add up. Meanwhile, from a socio-legal standpoint, this book is most valuable for the extensive data that McKanna has unearthed in his wide-ranging archival research. Scholars of the criminal justice system, violence and social control (to name just a few) are in McKanna’s debt for his arduous archival research and his generosity in making his data sets available to others.

The difficulty with the book is that the richness of the data begs for a more extensive, complex and nuanced analysis than McKanna is able to provide in his 108 pages of text. Moreover, the brief presentation cannot do justice to the two larger and mostly separate issues that McKanna wishes to tackle, those of equal justice and comparative violence. The study’s rather unremarkable conclusion—that minorities were treated more poorly than whites in the criminal justice system of nineteenth-century California—actually provides just the starting point for what this data could tell us about race and ethnicity, standards of formal and informal justice, the operation of the trial courts and other parts of the criminal justice system, comparative levels of violence and other matters of social control during California’s period of early statehood. McKanna’s discussion of comparative rates of violence only begins to tell the story of the complex role that California’s multi-racial and -ethnic landscape played in contributing to the rate of violence at this time.

As a historian, McKanna set himself on a challenging course in situating his work within the realm of socio-legal studies, a vast interdisciplinary field whose current debates, such as in the areas of critical race studies, violence studies and social control, are dynamic and complex. In citing a few works, including some classics, McKanna displays only a basic familiarity with the field. He is strongest when his socio-legal analysis relies on historical treatments of American violence, a subject with which he is more familiar.

In addition, McKanna has undertaken a complex task in engaging the categories of race and ethnicity in nineteenth-century California. Research in this area is burgeoning and historical analysis has become increasingly nuanced. In fact, one might argue that California is ground zero for the complication of the study of race and ethnicity in later nineteenth-century America, given the dynamic intersection of such a variety of racial and ethnic groups, the high degree of racial mixing that occurred during this period and Anglo ascendancy in the face of a corresponding decline of the previously-dominant *Californios*. McKanna understands the importance of these phenomena, and his conclusion—that those parts of California that experienced a “critical convergence” of several factors were comparatively more violent—relies partly on explanations grounded in racial and ethnic dynamics.

However, McKanna’s treatment of race and ethnicity in California often seems Anglo-centric, monolithic and at the same time both dated and presentist. On the one hand, McKanna’s racial and ethnic categories lump together groups that contemporaries would have considered disparate or that current research indicates warrant separate treatment. There is little distinction made among the Indians who inhabited California. Furthermore, McKanna groups together in the “Hispanic” category the elite, established *Californios* and newer

arrivals from Central and South America. As for "whites," McKanna fails to make any distinctions based on ethnicity or place of origin. In fact, in stating that whites were attached to "the English common law, modified by the [American] colonial and national experience" (p. 4), he seems to forget that the Golden State attracted European immigrants as well as Americans. On the other hand, the fluidity of racial and ethnic boundaries during this period seems absent from the analysis. While McKanna highlights the separatism of the Chinese, he fails to account for the high degree of intermixing between Californios and Anglo-Europeans, especially in the southern part of the state. Because his racial categorization is problematic, the empirical conclusions that McKanna draws based on those categorizations may not be accurate.

Finally, McKanna could provide a more detailed and regionally nuanced explanation of the operation of California's system of criminal prosecution and its "white man's justice." Inasmuch as he is studying a period that begins with the replacement of the Spanish-Mexican legal system with the Anglo-American common law system in the jurisdiction, McKanna would have done well to provide greater background on the establishment of the American system in California. (And more care could be taken with legal terminology. Wisely, he defined his sample as those who committed a killing regardless of whether they were convicted of a crime. However, he sometimes refers to the killers as "murderers," implying conviction for the most serious of homicidal crimes.)

Moreover, from a social science perspective, McKanna's analysis would have been strengthened by an explicit focus on the structure and function of the criminal justice system. For example, McKanna makes much of whether accused killers had access to legal representation. However, we are not told a great deal about the criminal defense bar, or the degree to which the state and counties were willing and able to devote resources to criminal prosecution. Neither does McKanna distinguish much between trial level and appellate level justice. All of these factors could affect conviction rates but may have little to do with the race of the perpetrator.

Besides analyzing his data for what it can say about equal justice across racial and ethnic lines in frontier California, McKanna also uses this volume to revisit his contribution to the debate over whether the American western frontier was more or less violent than other parts of the United States during this period. He acknowledges earlier criticism of his position that indeed the West was more violent, and now attempts a more nuanced explanation that accepts the difficulty of establishing a valid method for making such a determination. Instead, McKanna suggests that his and others' data reveal "enclaves of violence" (p. 101) resulting from "a critical convergence of several factors" (p. 102), including rapid population growth; ethnic diversity; the significant presence of young, unmarried men; the availability of alcohol and a gun culture.

While this second-generation discussion is a valuable addition to the debate, it seems relatively unconnected to the dominant theme of the book. (For example, McKanna is not arguing that accumulated experiences of injustice by accused killers led to greater violence in California.) McKanna might have benefited from furthering this discussion in a separate work. The focus of this book would have been tighter, and McKanna could have expanded his analysis of homicide based on race, complicating his racial and ethnic categorization in the process.

In sum, McKanna attempts to address two mostly separate themes in American socio-legal history as they pertain to early statehood California: whether race made a difference in the prosecution and conviction of crimes involving homicide, and whether the region experienced high levels of violence during this period. This book provides one round in what this reviewer hopes will be continuing discussions about both the place of race and ethnicity in the State of California's nascent criminal justice system, and the significance of violence in the social structure of California. In unearthing such extensive and rich data and making it available to other scholars, McKanna lays the groundwork for future studies relying on a variety of disciplinary models and methodologies.

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BODIE'S GOLD: *Tall Tales & True History from a California Mining Town.* By Marguerite Sprague. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003. 262 pp. \$34.95.)
BODIE'S BOSS LAWMAN: *The Frontier Odyssey of Constable John W. Kirgan.* By Bill Merrill with David Carle. (Reno: Nevada Publications, 2003. 199 pp. \$34.95 cloth; \$27.95 paper.) Reviewed by Michael S. Green.

Today, Bodie is a California State Historic Park, covering more than 1,000 acres in the Sierra Nevada. It preserves and displays a post-Gold Rush mining town whose heyday was the 1870s and early 1880s. The town achieved notoriety through legend and reality: the legend was that it not only exemplified, but even outstripped, the typically violent frontier mining camp; and the reality was that the legend contained more than enough truth to beckon amateur historians and professional scholars trying to understand the mining experience.

The findings of two amateur historians are welcome and attractive additions to the literature about a town that seems to have come close to producing more scholarship than wealth. Marguerite Sprague, a writer with a childhood connection to the camp, has produced a general history, *Bodie's Gold*. This work clearly was a labor of love—but it also could be laborious for a careful author: "Bodie today is so much a composite of fantastic tales of riches and ruin, spent bullets, spent lives, broken glass, and splintering boards that it is hard to separate fact from fantasy. The town's history is fairly murky. On close scrutiny, even the most solid-seeming facts become subject to doubt" (p. 2).

Sprague perseveres to trace Bodie from its beginnings—the geology that formed the mountains that made its mining boom possible. She examines the Kuzedika, often known as the Mono Lake Paiutes. Sprague found that, typically, the settlers were far more interested in pushing them off of their land than learning about their culture. "Will the real W.S. Bodie Please Stand Up?" begins a section in which she discusses the mystery of which Bodie—or Bodey—was the town's namesake (pp. 5, 215). She traces the boom, with ample attention to

the mines and their operations, but her greater interest lies with the people, from both sides of the tracks. She profiles leading citizens and social groups, from miners to Chinese laborers, from society women to prostitutes. She also follows Bodie's history to the present, describing the cycles of mining and the effort to preserve Bodie.

No student of Bodie can ignore its violence, and Sprague investigates it in connection with the height of the boom, including the only known lynching to occur in the community. Sprague hardly differs from other historians of mining camps when she writes, "Bodie was becoming home to more families and people who desired a more organized town life rather than a rough and wild mining-camp life. With this came a growing desire for some form of legal order. By 1877, Bodie had the long arm of the law in town, in the form of two justices of the peace, a sheriff, two deputy sheriffs, and a constable, J.F. Kirgan. Over the course of his job, Kirgan became something of a local celebrity" (pp. 21-22).

That celebrity is the subject of Merrill's work. Merrill died after conducting the research on Kirgan and Bodie, and after writing most of his biography of Kirgan. Carle completed the book, with a foreword by publisher Stanley Paher, himself the author of scores of books, pamphlets, and articles on southwestern history. As with Sprague, this book clearly was a labor of love—again, with an emphasis on labor. An Illinoisan who fought in the Mexican-American War, Kirgan came west to seek his fortune and worked his way across the Sierra Nevada. He became a deputy warden at the Nevada State Prison in Carson City and wound up, through no fault of his own, in the middle of a political battle involving the warden, the governor, and several leading Nevada politicians of the 1870s. Kirgan then headed for Bodie, arriving in 1878, and soon became constable.

There, too, Kirgan ran into political strife—a fight for political control of Mono County. This battle paled in comparison with the changes confronting California in 1879, when Denis Kearny and his Workingman's Party pushed through a rewriting of the California Constitution that changed the political landscape. "All of this would seem to be pretty abstruse stuff for a bunch of hard rock miners living in the Eastern Sierra. Yet Bodie residents considered themselves very much a part of the process," Merrill wrote (p. 107). Kirgan survived the local upheaval to remain a law enforcement officer, but died in an accident in 1881.

Lacking much specific information about Kirgan, his biographers stress both his life and his times. Sometimes his life disappears as they examine other issues, but these help illuminate Kirgan's milieu. Like Sprague, they do so in an engaging style, with numerous photographs. Neither book will satisfy the serious scholar seeking in-depth social commentary on mining camps. But both that scholar and the interested reader will find these books entertaining and informative. Both nicely capture a time and place that continues, like the boomtown that went bust but never entirely went away, to cast a historical spell.

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ISHI IN THREE CENTURIES. Edited by Karl Kroeber and Clifton Kroeber. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. 416 pp. \$49.95.) Reviewed by Elliott West.

Certain Native Americans have iconic status. Tecumseh stands for the brilliant but doomed visionary; Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse for courageous defiance in the face of sure defeat and probable death; Chief Joseph for eloquence, measured restraint and dignity in heartbreak. Whether facts fit the perception is irrelevant. As in all such cases in every culture, some combination of personal traits, historical circumstance, and people's needs of the moment create a widely recognized image of an individual that persists and evolves, shedding some meanings and taking on others as time passes and the public mood changes.

The Yahi known as Ishi is not so widely recognized as Sitting Bull or Geronimo, but he retains his own considerable iconic clout. His story is familiar. In August 1911, he wandered out of the California hills, starving, and was taken in by the Oroville sheriff. Anthropologists Thomas Waterman and Alfred Kroeber identified him as the lone survivor of what was thought a vanished tribe. Until his death from tuberculosis in 1916, he lived in the anthropological museum at the University of California, Berkeley. To Kroeber, Waterman and others in the university community, he was an invaluable source of information and, in some form that none could probably have quite defined, a friend.

Outside that circle, Ishi became known through *Ishi in Two Worlds*, a book by Kroeber's second wife, Theodora, who never met Ishi but who wrote compellingly of the appalling destruction of his people after the gold rush and of Ishi's extraordinary final years in passage between the "two worlds" of aboriginal and white-ruled, urban, industrial California. The timing, with Ishi appearing like a quickening ghost, caught perfectly the public's contradictory feelings of pride and loss, fascination with the primitive, and sympathy for the conquered (once the conquest was done, of course). As shown by a recent made-for-television production, Ishi's appeal continues.

Ishi in Three Centuries is a collection of essays more eclectic than most but one that holds together exactly because Ishi, as person and icon, pulls us in so many different directions of inquiry and emotional response. The essays are grouped into five sections. Those in the first consider Ishi's years in Berkeley; they range from a reminiscence of a contemporary, to an exegesis of news reports of the visit by the "wild man" to a vaudeville performance, to a defense of Kroeber's treatment of Ishi and a haunting short piece by Jace Weaver on the capture and display of dehumanized "primitives" in the early twentieth century. The second section focuses on the repatriation from the Smithsonian Institution of Ishi's brain, sent there by Kroeber, lost, rediscovered only in 1999, and returned to and reburied by the Maidu and Pit River tribes the next year. The incident brought an especially spirited debate in the anthropology department Kroeber had helped to found, over the need for a formal apology. The essays here, besides showing how emotionally charged Ishi's story remains, delve into questions around scholars' often contradictory responsibilities toward their crafts, the subjects of their studies, and humane values that, alas, shift and slide as the years pass.

The third section moves back to Ishi himself, taking a new look at two facets of his life at U.C. Berkeley that drew the special attention of anthropologists—his style of knapping stone tools and his language. These essays too address basic questions about Ishi's world and

our assumptions of it. Steven Shackley, for instance, sees in Ishi's knapping style a suggestion that the Yahí and Wintu—and presumably other tribes under siege—formed an amalgam culture as their numbers dwindled and their situation worsened. The next section moves still closer, giving us new translations of Ishi telling three stories, two surrounding creation and the coming of the Yahí to their country and a third a narrative of a character, Lizard, and his adventures and exploits. The final set of essays are from Native American writers, including Gerald Vizenor and Louis Owens, who have found Ishi in various ways an inspiration.

To Vizenor, who has written a play based on Ishi, he was a "storier in exile" whose oral narratives are "scenes of liberty" (p. 366). Others in this volume find him an insistent reminder of scholarly aggressions against native peoples, or a continuing source of revelation of subtle, adaptive cultures, or a mirror of prevalent perceptions of his time. Perhaps the best summary is from Gary Strankman, retired Justice of California's First District Court of Appeal. The name Ishi, meaning "man" in Yahí, was given by his anthropological keepers because he never revealed his own. To Strankman, this allows him to be "the eternal tribal 'I am . . .'" (p. 362), a standard of dignity for all Indian peoples.

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THE SPANISH REDEMPTION: *Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande.* By Charles Montgomery. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002. 354 pp. \$50.00.) Reviewed by Andrew K. Frank.

This elegant monograph explores how Anglos and Hispanos created and drew upon a common glorified "Spanish heritage" in early twentieth-century New Mexico. Montgomery demonstrates how this shared ideology used the region's Hispanic population as a centerpiece of the region's identity while at the same time marginalizing its economic and political power. Montgomery details this phenomenon through his exploration of party politics, architecture, the Sante Fe Fiesta, the folk arts and crafts movement, and regional literature. The result is a multifaceted approach that illuminates the power of symbols and imaginatively unites borderlands history with the literature on whiteness.

Montgomery begins his analysis by tracing how and why the region's Mexican-Americans became known as "Spanish Americans." Montgomery demonstrates that in the elongated push for statehood, Anglo politicians began this process in order to elevate the prestige and reputation of the region. Rather than simply displace the Hispano majority, Anglos redefined them and rhetorically made them more acceptable to the white majority. At the same time, this change in name helped Hispanos dissociate themselves from a host of Anglo prejudices against Mexicans and thus helped raise their social status. Montgomery also explores how this common public heritage helped Anglo elites to forge alliances with Spanish-speaking voters and control local politics.

Santa Fe's promoters embraced the imagined Spanish past and promoted it through the city's mission architecture. Montgomery demonstrates how, in part to attract much-desired tourist dollars, various city promoters appropriated and imposed the mission past in order to augment their and the city's personal prestige. In essence, "by establishing institutions of art, science, and learning among the *paisanos*, they sought the stature of modern-day missionaries, the men who would bathe benighted New Mexico in the light of modern civilization" (p. 92).

A similar process shaped the Santa Fe Fiesta, an annual event which was revived and transformed in 1919. In this public celebration, Anglos transformed a preexisting religious street festival and united Santa Fe's community around a secular celebration of the Spanish reconquest of the southwest. This pageant celebrated *paisano* folk culture as a centerpiece of the Spanish past. In return, the city's Hispanic population obtained the prestige of identifying with Spanish ancestry and economic opportunities to sell their crafts, while the city's Anglo population doubled and increasingly obtained control of the local markets and property.

While the Fiesta flourished, other residents of Santa Fe sought to capitalize on and promote Spanish colonial crafts. Local artists attempted to unite a "uniquely Spanish colonial art, a form of expression modified by the New Mexico frontier yet rooted in a distant Iberian past" (p. 160). Once again, Montgomery carefully details how New Mexicans created and capitalized on a Spanish past. In this, the book's most effective chapter, Montgomery deftly describes how this movement served to marginalize the Hispanic community and its culture.

Montgomery's exploration of southwestern literature buttresses his findings elsewhere. He explores how and why most prominent authors during the 1920s and 1930s stopped describing rural Hispanos with the language of racial inferiority and instead turned to sympathetic and apolitical descriptions. Most "prominent literary works portrayed Hispano villagers as bearers of folk wisdom, a people who knew enough to keep their distance from a cold and sterile world" (p. 192). Authors emphasized the region's distinctive Catholic influences and the Spanish pasts of rural communities like the Rio Arriba village and the Indian pueblos. This conservative orientation reinforced the marginal status of New Mexico's Hispano population while reinforcing the Spanish past.

Montgomery should be commended for his careful attention to how Hispanos created, responded to, and shaped the discourse of a shared Spanish heritage in complex and often paradoxical ways. The result is a monograph that will interest and challenge scholars of whiteness, gender, and southwestern history.

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MY BLUE HEAVEN: *Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920–1965*. By Becky M. Nicolaides. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002. 412 pp. \$65.00.) Reviewed by Robert D. Johnston.

The single-city monograph has supposedly gone the way of the dinosaur. During the heyday of the new social history in the 1970s, micro studies of community life in little-known places greatly advanced our knowledge of the lives of the ordinary people of the past. But they simultaneously fragmented the historical discipline, or so the story goes. Scholars increasingly recovered the number of Elks lodges in Riverside in 1894, but they were not able to tell us anything about the broader patterns that governed our national political and social life.

Becky M. Nicolaides's *My Blue Heaven* is a stunning rebuke to such a facile condemnation of local history. In a way only possible through an intense exploration of community life on the ground, Nicolaides has offered an impressive and multi-faceted explanation of why the United States went from liberal to conservative over the course of the twentieth century.

My Blue Heaven is primarily a study of the Los Angeles suburb of South Gate. Nicolaides begins her book narrating the reaction of South Gate residents to the 1965 conflagration in adjacent Watts, and that singular moment is never far from her consciousness. Yet Nicolaides does a very important service in arguing that we cannot understand the rise of the right in places like South Gate during the 1960s or 1970s without going back decades to explore deep contours of society and economy. This history of South Gate therefore begins in 1920. Nicolaides does a superb job grounding us in the material world of white working-class life, particularly in the decades before World War II. Survival was always precarious. Workers consistently latched on to one lifeline in this cruel world: homeownership. It is the economic and political legacies of homeownership that are always front-and-center in this book. Yet, contrary to our cultural images, owning a home did not mean buying into a classless American dream where suburbanites lazily sat around on their porches watching the grass grow and their property values rise. Instead, proletarians had to labor endlessly, cultivating their gardens and slaughtering the chickens they grew in their backyards in order to make ends meet. Nicolaides brings this world to life through a deep investigation of printed sources, an effective use of oral history, and creative “imaginary drive[s]” through South Gate neighborhoods.

The economic strategy that workers created—Nicolaides correctly grants her subjects full agency—had far-reaching political consequences. Immediately, it set workers at odds against both renters, who were denied full political rights because they were seen as interlopers, and merchants, who had ambitious plans to use tax money to encourage economic growth. (Incidentally, one of the many virtues of *My Blue Heaven* is that this study of a “working-class suburb” takes the middle class seriously.) Nicolaides is a master at explaining the intricacies of such arcane matters as special tax assessments for the construction of public works, parks, and schools. Generally, the cards of taxation were stacked against members of the working class, and they retaliated by refusing to support much beyond the most limited level of taxation.

The more long-lasting outcome of the working-class embrace of homeownership was the development of a political culture that, above all, valued individualism, private initiative, and

limited government. (Nicolaidis is fair and respectful toward her subjects, but there is precious little working-class solidarity on display in *My Blue Heaven*, and no romantic illusions about the historic mission of the proletariat.) The ultimate test that displayed the total commitment of workers to a low-tax regime came when they chose racially integrated schools in the 1920s and 1930s rather than raise taxes in order to support the construction of an independent, but expensive, segregated school district. Despite their previous commitments to racism, for these workers keeping a tight leash on the public purse trumped the wages of whiteness.

That is, until World War II. The economic boom that followed the war brought South Gate a prosperity that allowed its residents to afford parks, along with more robust forms of racial exclusion. South Gate citizens then began to react with extreme hostility to even the most moderate of civil rights initiatives. By 1964, when California voters went to the polls to vote up or down on fair housing, it was clear that South Gaters would form the shock troops for racial illiberalism. Indeed, the suburb's voters cast a stunning 87.5 percent of their ballots in favor of Proposition 14, the initiative that would have guaranteed citizens the right to sell their property to anyone they chose—essentially legalizing racially restrictive covenants. And although Nicolaidis stops her story in 1965, after Prop 14 came the deluge: the Watts riot, white flight, and white workers' desertion of the New Deal Democratic coalition.

Such is the main narrative of *My Blue Heaven*, but the book contains many additional pearls of historical wisdom. We learn, for example, that the white workers of South Gate had little problem working together with black workers; indeed, they generally supported progressive union initiatives for fair employment. Sadly, such egalitarianism stopped at the factory gate, and the same workers who welcomed African Americans at the point of production could simply not countenance black neighbors. Nicolaidis also convincingly demonstrates that South Gate's pre-war working-class residents were more "cosmopolitan" than their wealthier merchant neighbors. Business owners had a reason to be committed to Main Street and, for instance, to ban non-resident enterprises from advertising in the city. Yet if workers wanted cheap shopping or entertainment, or good work, they generally had to turn to the larger Los Angeles area, and this bred a familiarity and ease with the metropolis.

All in all, through her many intellectual achievements, Nicolaidis has herself achieved a little piece of scholarly heaven. Still, *My Blue Heaven* does not command a unanimous angelic chorus.

South Gate is of interest to historians primarily because of its proximity to Watts, and the corresponding reaction of its white residents to the black rebellion. Yet while Nicolaidis is largely successful in refusing to read all events in the years before 1965 in light of the riot, she does not completely escape an anachronistic teleology that makes something important in 1935 only because we can see that it led, supposedly inevitably, to the racial conflagration three decades later. For example, reputedly conservative South Gaters gave a majority of their votes for president in 1924 to the insurgent Robert La Follette, an intriguing outcome that Nicolaidis unfortunately does not explore. In the following decade, the suburb's voters gave impressive backing to Upton Sinclair's EPIC movement. Nicolaidis pays more attention to these oppositional politics in the 1930s, but she seems to require some Houdini-like maneuvers to explain how the enthusiasm for EPIC's radicalism fits into her design.

Most problematic is Nicolaides's conclusion. The bulk of her book is a stunning indictment of a racist white working class, and, in turn, a political power structure in city, state, and nation that offered, and by extension continues to offer, little hope for justice in matters of race (or, for that matter, class). Yet rather than offering a powerful meditation on the relationship between hope and history, Nicolaides instead jumps us resolutely to the present in her epilogue. Her main point—that South Gate has become a dumping ground for Latinos forced to live in garages—is quite important, and depressing.

In refusing to grapple with the full significance of her findings, though, Nicolaides has failed to turn a superb book into an intellectually spectacular one. In the end, Nicolaides leads us to ask: when we look at the past in California's working-class suburbs, can we find any democratic inspiration? Or were the residents of those suburbs always and forever locked into an inescapable politics of racist reaction? Beyond that, we must ask: will an embrace of homeownership, the heart of the American Dream, inevitably lead to selfishness and exclusion? The answers to these questions are of critical importance not only to scholars of southern California history, but to all those who care about the destiny of our nation's democracy.

Still, Becky Nicolaides deserves considerable commendation for, at the least, implicitly raising such issues. For this reason, and even more because of its myriad strengths, *My Blue Heaven* should take its place on the bookshelf of every scholar interested not only in the history of twentieth-century southern California, but the political fate of an entire nation.

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CALIFORNIA IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM: *The Changing Social and Political Landscape.* By Mark Baldassare. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press and the Public Policy Institute of California, 2000. 283 pp. \$17.95.) Reviewed by Raphael J. Sonenshein.

The recall of Democratic Governor Gray Davis and his replacement by Arnold Schwarzenegger in 2003 were among the greatest shocks of California's political history. After all, in 2002, only one November earlier, Democrats had swept all statewide offices, and seemingly had gained a hammerlock on both houses of the State Legislature. The state Republican party was on the verge of collapse in late November 2002, as Republican primary voters turned their back on a moderate candidate for governor, Richard Riordan, thereby paving the way for Davis's re-election.

Mark Baldassare's book on California's social and political landscape, produced for the Public Policy Institute of California in 2000, before both the Democratic sweep and the stun-

ning recall, makes the reversal of Democratic gains in California seem less surprising. Those who, in 2002, saw triumphant liberalism as far as the eye could see may have been wrong. If Baldassare is correct, moderate conservatism, whether Democratic or Republican, holds the key to California's political future. It is certainly the road Schwarzenegger traveled to the governorship.

Baldassare's study is a model of clear and accessible writing, useful for scholars and practitioners alike. It is likely to be drawn upon by the increasing number of observers who wish to understand California, but also by those who would like to be elected to govern it.

California in the New Millennium is based on a set of surveys conducted by Baldassare for the Public Policy Institute of California during the 1998 statewide election in which Gray Davis was first elected governor. Baldassare and his associates conducted twelve focus groups in six regions of California. The broader study depends on interviews with more than 10,000 Californians in the course of five surveys throughout the election year. Each of the five surveys included around 2,000 interviewees, and each had a minimum of 400 Latino respondents. The large number of respondents (and the strong sample of Latinos) provides an unusually valuable sample, compared to the usual survey of 500 to 1,000. However, relying too heavily on this one set of surveys to explain the vast terrain of California's social and political landscape does have its problems.

Baldassare posits three main factors in the evolution of California's public opinion: political distrust, racial and ethnic change, and regional diversity. In short, he found that in 1998 (a generally good year in America's economy) voters in California were remarkably cynical about government, riven by dramatic differences between and among racial and ethnic groups, and on the verge of developing a new regional cleavage between central counties and the coastal counties, north and south. Each of these trends argued not for continued easy sledding for Democrats in California, but rather for a perilous pathway for progressive politics.

In each of these three areas, Baldassare's analysis seems prescient in light of the recall. Voter distrust is joined with a lack of information. Voters depend heavily on television for information, yet television provides little coverage of California government; as a result, voters rely on campaign commercials to learn about candidates and issues. One month after the election, only 53 percent of those interviewed could even name the newly-elected governor, testifying to Davis's slim hold on the electorate. Perhaps Davis's art was to sense that voters had little interest in state government, and to keep a low profile. He remained reasonably popular as long as there were no major problems and he stayed out of everybody's way. But the energy and budget crises brought him to unwanted public attention, and it was a spotlight he could not survive. More disturbing to Democrats, the lack of interest and information among the electorate is greater among minorities and working-class voters who are essential to Democrats.

Baldassare's respondents were distrustful of politicians, ready to embrace direct democracy. Independent voters, notes Baldassare, "have an antigovernment orientation that could lead them, in bad economic times, to favor the outsiders who use their own money to challenge the political establishment" (p. 80). Sound familiar? Schwarzenegger's reluctance to discuss issues in depth during the campaign ended up costing him little, perhaps because voter

information levels in California were so limited that the demand for detail was correspondingly low. Along with the antigovernment attitudes came a reluctance to support tax increases, and strong levels of support for retaining Proposition 13, the 1978 tax-cutting initiative.

Racial and ethnic changes have increasingly mobilized white voters without necessarily binding new Latino and Asian American voters permanently to the Democrats. Despite the economic good times of 1998, Baldassare could predict that this white reaction could grow quite nasty if the economy turned down, as it did after 2000. Clearly, the decision by Davis to sign a bill allowing undocumented residents to obtain drivers' licenses tapped into anti-immigrant sentiment that lies not far below the surface.

Finally, regional shifts were creating a new population surge in the Central Valley and in the Orange County-Inland Empire regions. While many Central Valley voters are Democrats, they are up for grabs. Unlikely to be as liberal as Democrats in the coastal areas, they are fertile ground for centrist candidates. Conversely, the Orange County population, once reliably Republican, was shifting as Latinos and Asian Americans joined the political system. Baldassare suggests that these growing regions will pull California politics toward the center and toward candidates less tied to the political parties.

Baldassare's main concern in the book is to highlight the great difficulty of developing consensus around solutions to the state's problems. How can a state whose voters are relentlessly cynical, divided by race and ethnicity, and increasingly by region, to find common ground? I find these concerns valuable, but wonder if they are overstated in historical terms. Was there ever a time in California history when such consensus solutions were possible, or do solutions actually emerge from the partisan and individual competition for state leadership?

Baldassare proposes a number of solutions to the problem of consensus building, from governmental and campaign reforms, to better media coverage, to improvements in how ballot measures are developed, and to intergroup relations. These ideas are thoughtful and call for greater civic education and voter involvement, but they may not be all that the reader can take from his analysis of survey and focus group data. The book may have its greatest value in contributing to a greater understanding of the relationship among public opinion, political parties, and solutions to problems in the public sphere of California.

The recall election of 2003 has given us a taste of politics in California, twenty-first-century style, and we cannot easily put the genie back in the bottle. Politicians will note the increasing popularity of all direct democracy tools, not just the dog-eared initiative, but also the recall and even the referendum (rarely used in the past, but now being resurrected) as ways to move the system in light of voter distrust of elected officials. Battles over drivers' licenses for undocumented residents are likely to animate party competition and will keep replaying the ongoing referendum about whether immigration has been good for California. With Latino voters becoming more and more important, yet still falling far short of their potential, both parties will be trying to reach them. And the parties will also compete over new swing voters in the Central Valley and in the Orange County-Inland Empire regions Baldassare highlights.

Those who hope for progressive policies in California government should find Baldas-

sare's analysis particularly frightening, but also motivational. The pillars of liberal political thinking—the dominance of the liberal coastal regions, the presumed loyalty of Latinos to the Democrats, the strength of the legislature as a vehicle to implement progressive legislation—are all deeply threatened by the trends Baldassare highlights. At this writing, Governor Schwarzenegger has made plain that he will use the ballot box rather than a Democratic-controlled legislature to advance his agenda, and Republicans have laid plans to win control of the Assembly and Senate. Even as their population share declines, whites have since 1998 been increasing their share of the statewide vote relative to minorities. To survive and thrive in California, liberals will have to rediscover the importance of direct democracy, reduce voter cynicism about government, and hew to an appealing progressivism.

At the same time, progressives can take heart that California is too complex to be captured in one single set of snapshots, even one with more than 10,000 respondents. At times, Baldassare draws numerical comparisons between groups whose differences are close enough to the margin of error to deserve a bit less weight than he gives them. Public opinion is notoriously hard to divine, and the best way to understand it is to weigh and compare numerous snapshots. Other surveys, for example, could show greater liberalism and activism among Latinos and others might indicate different dynamics regionally, racially, and ethnically. Other polls may well show different public attitudes toward public spending and taxes, and these results would have to be weighed as part of the stew of survey results.

With the right candidates, and the right circumstances, Democrats might rebound from the recall, but in light of this book, they would be unwise to ignore the underlying opinion dynamics that made the recall possible. They should take Baldassare's analysis to heart and assess the challenge of not just winning elections, but of crafting state policies that can gain and hold majority support.

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